GOVERNORS OF MARYLAND

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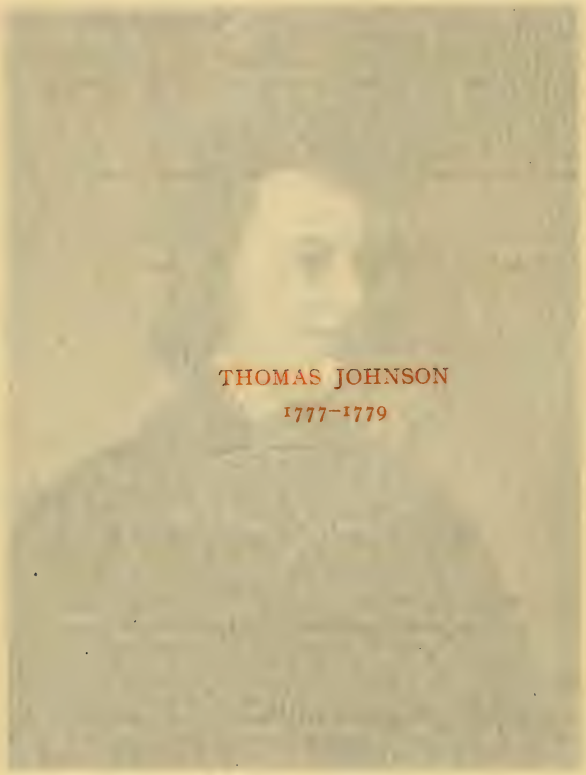
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THOMAS JOHNSON

1777–1779

GOVERNORS OF MARYLAND

FROM THE REVOLUTION TO THE YEAR 1908

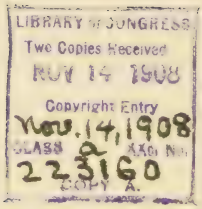
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PREFACE

Few writers of historical books can afford to omit the preface. This time-honored personal introduction of a work by the author has a distinct mission to perform, and its non-performance imperils the intelligence of the reception that will be given the volume. There is a certain conventional programme gone through by the maker of serious books. His text in manuscript is sent to the printer, who puts it into type, and proofs of the matter so set are sent back to the writer. After the author has read these proofs he undertakes to pen last of all the opening pages of his book—in short, he writes a preface in which he endeavors to tell, not what is in the book, but what he meant to put there. Because of this preface, the critic—who is the only man called upon to fathom the meaning of the book—is saved the necessity of reading the text proper. Thus it will readily be seen that the wise historical writer by lightening the burden of his critic very discreetly prejudices that judge in his favor.

And even the author of "Governors of Maryland" had a purpose in mind when he started upon the work which here appears. He undertook to write a series of intimate and critical sketches of Maryland's state governors. He aimed to paint as a background for each biography some phase of the political, economic or social life of the commonwealth contemporaneous with the particular character studied, and pertinent to a full understanding of this character's public career. He knew, of course, that in a local field of the sort he had chosen he would be subjected to the special plead-

ings, the biased assertions, and the unreasonable protests of many descendants of Marylanders falling under the scope of his book, and he resolved to hear and weigh their claims, but to hold nothing sacred in his final conclusions but the truth. Out of these rather pretentious aims grew this simple volume.

One distinction, at least, must be given this work among the historical volumes dealing with Maryland subjects; its author purposely refrains from naming in his preface those who aided him in his work; he also willfully neglects to supply a list of his authorities. Ungrateful, indeed, would be the author were he here to print the names of those kindly persons who have made easy his search for data, since by so doing he would invite other writers to impose upon their kindness. As to sources—too often the historical writer is tempted to copy a page or two or three of some bibliography and offer it as his authorities. But the writer of this work will not hold any other author or any book responsible for his statements or misstatements, for he has drawn his data not only from books, but newspapers, legislative journals, letters, private diaries, his own imagination and, in a few isolated cases, the gossip of old women.

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GOVERNORS OF MARYLAND

1

THOMAS JOHNSON

It is fashionable, perhaps because pleasant, to regard the American Revolution as a general uprising of abused colonists, who sought to free themselves from a foreign yoke which had become so burdensome that it could no longer be borne. But this view does not take into account hesitating conservatives, lukewarm temporizers and God-fearing loyal British subjects. When the struggle that bore the American nation came, there was more than a little dissension among the colonists of Maryland, as well as of the twelve other provinces, regarding the questions at issue. Many good people were either moderately opposed to revolt, or else determinedly and conscientiously in favor of a continuance of British domination. The colonists who joined the Continental army were not all heroes, nor were those who opposed the Revolution necessarily cowards. That tory who, holding England in the right, was willing, though surrounded by a host of revolutionists, to adhere to his faith was decidedly more of a man than the average American history has been inclined to paint him. Though these facts combat popularized tradition, they do not take one whit from the glory that envelopes the Revolutionary period of American history; indeed, they accentuate its brightness, for they show that in the legislative hall as on the field of battle, men opposed men; that gentlemen who fought against England had cause for some compunction in opposing gentlemen who supported England's claim; that all the valor and all the courage were not on one side, but that both parties, and in fact, even those who for

conscience sake remained neutral, had their virtues as well as their vices, their heroes as well as their traitors.

The conventional fife-and-drum history of the American struggle for independence is responsible for a total eclipsing of the true story of that conflict, for fife and drum were but the accompaniments of combats of intellect in legislative halls, and of herculean warfare waged by civilians to arouse the widespread dormant patriotism to consciousness. To the soldier who fired a musket has been given due credit, but the plain-clad civilian who roused him to action, who put a musket in his hand, and who reared a structure of government over his head while he slept at night, has been given no other reward than oblivion. The destructive forces which engaged in casting down the authority of Great Britain are made to stand out in bold relief upon the pages of history, but the constructive forces, which were the backbone of the country's hope, are hidden from view by false shadows. When investigation dissipates these shadows, then is revealed the true greatness of Maryland's first state governor. While the struggle to sustain the Declaration was going on, the colonies set about to establish their individual governments. In Maryland affairs were first intrusted to a committee, but there was soon established another form of government that consisted of a legislative and an executive body, and when the time came for the election of the first governor the legislative body chose Thomas Johnson, whose fame at that time outshone that of many of his fellow-citizens whose names have since completely overshadowed his own. The waning of Mr. Johnson's fame was due to his greatest virtue—his modesty. The army coveted the courage which his presence brought; the legislature claimed the wisdom of his intellect; the bench sought the soundness of his judgment, and to each he gave what was asked, but never thought to husband his reputa-

tion so that posterity might give him a place of glory in the story of the nation which he so largely helped to make.

The grandfather of the governor, also named Thomas Johnson, came to America from Porte Head, Yarmouth, England, in the latter quarter of the seventeenth century in somewhat romantic fashion. He had become enamored of a Miss Mary Baker, who was denied the privilege of marrying, because she was a chancery ward. Mr. Johnson, however, holding love as dear a thing as reverence for unjust statutes, eloped to the New World with the young woman. The refugees settled at St. Leonards, where was born to them a son, who also was named Thomas Johnson. This son was married to Miss Dorcas Sedgewick, of whose twelve children the fifth was Thomas Johnson, Maryland's first state governor, who was born at St. Leonards on November 4, 1732. From youth Johnson came in contact with men of learning. He became a resident of Annapolis and was reared in the office of the provincial court. He studied law in the office of Counselor Bordley, and was admitted to practice at the Maryland bar. His career from then on was cast among the mighty minds of the state. He took from the radicals their righteous fire without their unbridled passion; from the tories their wisdom without their arrogance, and thus he grafted into his own character the best qualities of both parties. It is possible that the "fire-eaters" of the legislature did not look with entire approval upon the man who could discuss quietly things that they argued only with raised voices and clenched fists. John Adams, who was to become president, advanced the opinion that "Johnson, of Maryland, has a clear and cool head. * * * He is a deliberating man, but not a shining orator; his passion and imagination do not appear enough for an orator; his reason and penetration appear, but not his rhetoric." But the able Marylander lacked that fire that Adams thought

essential only because he scornfully discarded it. When the American Revolution began, Thomas Johnson was already a man of wide repute throughout the other colonies. At thirty years of age he had been elected to represent Anne Arundel county in the assembly, and there opposed the stamp act. When the colonists became displeased at the arbitrary views of Governor Eden regarding separate fees for every act of state officials, Johnson was chosen to present an address warning his excellency of the dangers of his course.

In 1768 Mr. Johnson was appointed one of a committee to draft a petition remonstrating with the king of England because of unjust taxations. He was a member of the Annapolis convention of 1774, and was named—with Matthew Tilghman, Robert Goldsborough, William Paca and Samuel Chase—as a deputy from the province to attend a general congress of deputies to effect a common plan of conduct for the relief of Boston and the preservation of American liberties. By repeated election he served as a delegate to the Continental congress, 1774–77. On October 2, 1774, when a resolution was passed by congress that an address to the crown should be prepared, Mr. Johnson was selected, with Richard Henry Lee, John Adams and Patrick Henry, to write it; and in December of that year he was appointed a member of the provincial committee of correspondents, and also as a member of the council of safety. Through his influence the deputies from Maryland in congress were permitted, June 28, 1776, to declare independence of Great Britain; and it was he who, on June 15, 1775, nominated George Washington for commander-in-chief of all the Continental forces.

When the American colonies were preparing for the onslaught that was sure to follow a declaration of independence, Mr. Johnson was among the most active organizers for resistance in Maryland. On May 21, 1776, he was

reëlected to congress, but he tarried at home, creating armed forces out of tillers of the soil and clerks from the counting room. He was elected senior brigadier-general of provincial forces early in 1776 and organized and personally led the "Flying Camp"—a regiment of 1800 soldiers—which went to Washington's relief during his retreat through New Jersey. Mr. Johnson was a man of wealth, and his fortune permitted, while his devotion prompted, him to contribute largely for the military defense not only of his province, but of the country at large. With the glory of a military career awaiting him, the very people who loved him most were instrumental in diverting his career back to the old life in the council halls, thus robbing him of a place among the lauded. On July 4, 1776, when Johnson was elected by the convention as a deputy from the province to the Continental congress, the members of that body went on record in a resolution as believing that his services were of more importance in congress than in the field, and that his place could be supplied with less inconvenience in the military than in the civil department.

The first state constitution of Maryland called for an immediate election of a governor by the two branches of the legislature. Accordingly, on February 13, 1777, the two houses were canvassed and Thomas Johnson received forty votes, while the remaining ballots were scattered among his opponents, Samuel Chase receiving nine, and Matthew Tilghman, George Plater and William Paca one each. The newly elected governor was inaugurated with great pomp on Friday, March 21, 1777. The official ceremonies of inducting him into office were observed in the state house at Annapolis. The soldiery drawn up for review on the lawn, fired three volleys, and a salute of thirteen rounds was fired by the batteries. A night of gayeties followed the inauguration, the state ball reviving memories

of the brilliant entertainments that had won for Annapolis international renown in the days preceding the Revolution. In the summer of that year the British forces under Admiral Howe made their appearance in the Chesapeake, and Governor Johnson issued a proclamation, in which he called upon the people to lend their aid. "To defend our liberties requires our exertions; our wives, our children and our country implore our assistance—motives amply sufficient to arm everyone who can be called a man."

There was here no mincing of words, and at the same time there was disclosed the high place which home held in Mr. Johnson's regard. On February 16, 1766, he had married Miss Ann Jennings, daughter of Judge Thomas Jennings, of Annapolis. The home that he gained by his marriage always held first place in his affection. When in later years there came a question as to which should be sacrificed, the demands of home or the claims of fortune, Johnson did not hesitate in deciding. Mr. Johnson voted for the Declaration of Independence, on July 4, 1776, but on the second of August—when the document was to be signed—there was illness in his family and he remained at home. Having helped to make the Declaration a fact, he permitted himself to be deprived of the honor that came to those who placed to it their signatures, in order that he might respond to a call from home for the comfort of his presence. As a consequence the name of Thomas Johnson is not among those of the signers.

The term of governor in the early days of Maryland's life as an independent state was for one year only and a governor was not eligible for reëlection to more than three consecutive terms. Mr. Johnson was twice reëlected without opposition. In 1779 he was succeeded by Thomas Sim Lee, and the following year Johnson was again elected deputy to the provincial congress, October, 1780. A few months

later he was chosen a member of the house of delegates. It was through his instrumentality that the deputies from Maryland were instructed to vote in favor of the articles of confederation, Maryland having at first refused to join in the confederation unless Virginia should agree to release all lands west of the Ohio River. Johnson also labored faithfully for the adoption by Maryland of the constitution of the United States, and as soon as the ratification of the constitution was assured he rallied to the support of General Washington for president. Mr. Johnson was a member of the Continental congress from 1781 to 1787. In 1789 President Washington tendered him the office of United States district judge, which he declined. On April 20, 1790, he was appointed chief judge of the general court of Maryland, surrendering the office November 7, 1791, that he might assume the duties of associate judge of the supreme court of the United States, to which position he had been appointed. On the resignation of Chief Judge Rutledge some years later, Washington endeavored to persuade Mr. Johnson to accept this post, but without success.

When Edmund Randolph resigned the portfolio of state in 1795 President Washington invited Mr. Johnson to become a member of his official family. "The office of secretary of state is vacant," he wrote, "occasioned by the resignation of Mr. Randolph. Will you accept it? You know my wishes of old to bring you into the administration. Where, then, is the necessity of repeating them? * * * No time more than the present ever required the aid of your abilities. * * *" Mr. Johnson's letter of declination reveals the extreme modesty which worked such havoc with his fame. "I feel real concern that my circumstances will not permit me to fill the important office you propose to me," he wrote. "I am far from being out of humor

with the world on my own account; it has done me more than justice in estimating my abilities, and more justice than common in conjecturing my motives. I feel nothing of fear, either, in hazarding again the little reputation I may have acquired, for I am not conscious of having sought or despised applause; but, without affectation, I do not think I could do credit to the office of secretary. I cannot persuade myself that I possess the necessary qualifications for it, and I am sure I am too old to expect improvement. My strength declines, and so too, probably, will my mental powers soon. My views in this world have been some time bounded to my children. They yet, for a little while, may have me to lean on. Being constantly with them adds to their happiness and makes my chief comfort."

That Mr. Johnson was altogether sincere in his profession of no concern about his fame, is certified beyond question by the confession of his granddaughter some years later that "We have a few of General Washington's letters to grandpa, but he purposely destroyed all confidential letters before his death." American history contains no parallel of such indifference to that common desire of mankind for fame. In his later years Governor Johnson lived in retirement at Rose Hill, in Frederick. And here on October 26, 1819, in the eighty-seventh year of his age, Governor Johnson died. A more fitting comment on his life at large cannot be found than that recorded by Esmeralda Boyle: "No man did more for the advancement of liberty's cause, yet among the recorded names of American heroes how seldom do we find his name! Few men of Maryland's struggling days did so much toward furnishing material for the history of Maryland, yet how has history forgotten him!"



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NEEDWOOD,
FREDERICK COUNTY HOME OF THOMAS SIM LEE
1770-1782 : 1702-1794

II

THOMAS SIM LEE

It was many years after the adoption by Maryland of a state constitution before anything approaching republicanism was infused into the government. During the first years of liberty the people, as if by common consent, submitted to a reign of aristocracy. Although in time advocates of a truly democratic government arose and ultimately defeated the aristocrats, still a political history of Maryland's earliest days, just as a history of her earliest state governors, must be concerned largely with those who supported policies looking to the governing of the many by a few. Although Thomas Johnson, the first governor, may be regarded as a democratic statesman, when the time came for selecting his successor the political leaders of the state did not seem to desire to place the reins of government in the hands of one entertaining republican principles. There was at this time an uncertainty in the public mind as to the form of government which would be best adapted for the people of Maryland, and that wavering is reflected in the choice of a successor to Johnson. Two candidates for governor were before the legislature in 1779: Col. Edward Lloyd, of Talbot county, and Thomas Sim Lee. On November 8, the two houses cast their ballots, and Lee was chosen. As governor, Mr. Lee attained great popularity, due largely to the fact that his views coincided to a remarkable degree with those of the people of his day, especially the leaders. By his life, therefore, are revealed the general sentiments of his contemporaries upon matters of government, and those sentiments are far from republican. Governor Lee was a patriot;

he labored cheerfully and untiringly for the success of the Revolutionary forces; but the characteristic that attracts the greatest notice is not his patriotism, but his strong leaning toward aristocracy.

Thomas Sim Lee was born in Prince George's county, October 29, 1745. He was a son of Thomas and Christiana (Sim) Lee and great-grandson of Richard Lee, the cavalier of Shropshire, who came to America during the reign of Charles I, and settled in Virginia. There was this difference between Governor Lee and his predecessor in office: Mr. Johnson had won fame before he became governor, and he gave to the executive office more honor than he took from it, while Lee entered upon the duties of governor without previously having accomplished a great deal, and it was his administration of that office almost entirely that won him a place among the state's celebrities. At the opening of the Revolution Mr. Lee was a moderately ardent advocate of armed opposition, but he had not attracted wide attention. In 1777 he began his career in public service as a member of the provincial council of Maryland. His first position of importance, however, was that of governor, and he performed the duties devolving upon that office with signal success, as is certified by the frequency with which he was reëlected.

In the opening years of Maryland's existence as a state, the executive was granted but comparatively small authority. The position then was far less influential than the growth of the republican spirit made it in later years, for the executive was, in a way, the social head of the state rather than its governmental head. The social requirements of the executive office were so much emphasized in the latter part of the eighteenth century, that Governor's Lee's popularity must be credited to a great extent to his social performances. At the same time the social aspects of his

governorship should not be permitted to hide his intrinsic worth as a patriot.

Governor Lee began his first term of office at a time when the nation was facing a crisis. The army was in a precarious condition; the ranks were being reduced by desertion and there was little to arrest the discouraging process of decrease. Governor Lee's first official act practically was the issuance of a proclamation for the collection of provisions for the ragged army. The governor received a letter from General Washington early in the year 1780 regarding a call that had been made on "the several states for specific quantities of provisions, rum and forage for the army." And Governor Lee left no stone unturned in his labors to secure the required supplies. Later there came from Washington an appeal for additional troops, and the general assembly, encouraged by the governor, responded: "We purpose to exert our utmost efforts to raise 2000 regulars to serve during the war." These utmost efforts sent 2065 fighting men to the Continental army. In the early months of 1781 Governor Lee rendered considerable aid—and with it encouragement—to Lafayette and the forces under him then journeying southward through the state.

Maryland was frequently called upon by the Continental government for much needed assistance. In reply to such a plea Governor Lee wrote Robert Morris, in August, 1781: "Every thing that is within our power and within the exhausted abilities of this state shall be done cheerfully and immediately to promote and render effectual the expedition which his Excellency General Washington has formed against the British in Virginia, in which we are fully sensible the care and safety of this state in particular is deeply interested." And proof of the fulfillment of that promise is given by Washington's letter to Lee: "Give me leave to return to you my sincerest thanks for your exertions on the

present occasion. The supplies granted by the state are so liberal that they remove any apprehension of want." And a short while later (in October) General Washington again wrote the chief magistrate of Maryland: "My present engagements will not allow me to add more than my congratulations on the happy event [alluding to the surrender of the British army at Yorktown] and to express the high sense I have of the powerful aid which I have derived from the state of Maryland in complying with my every request to the executive of it." These signal services of Governor Lee to the cause of liberty entitle him to a high place among the patriots of the nation.

The legislature elected a successor to Governor Lee on November 22, 1782, and at the same time adopted a series of resolutions commending the retiring executive. Upon relinquishing the gubernatorial office Mr. Lee was elected delegate to the Continental congress, in which he served in 1783 and 1784. He was chosen a delegate to the constitutional convention of 1787, but declined to serve; in 1788, however, he was chosen a member of the state convention which ratified the constitution. Mr. Lee was again elected governor of Maryland in 1792, following George Plater in office. His second administration covered two years, from 1792 to 1794, and witnessed as one of its most important issues the so-called "whiskey insurrection." In 1794 the residents of Western Pennsylvania and parts of Maryland opposed the government in its endeavors to collect revenue from the distillers of domestic alcoholic drinks. The insurrection assumed serious proportions, and the governors of several states, including Maryland, were called upon to supply troops to war against the revolters. By prompt action the enemies of the federal government were defeated before the spirit of revolt against the central government had been permitted to spread. During Governor Lee's

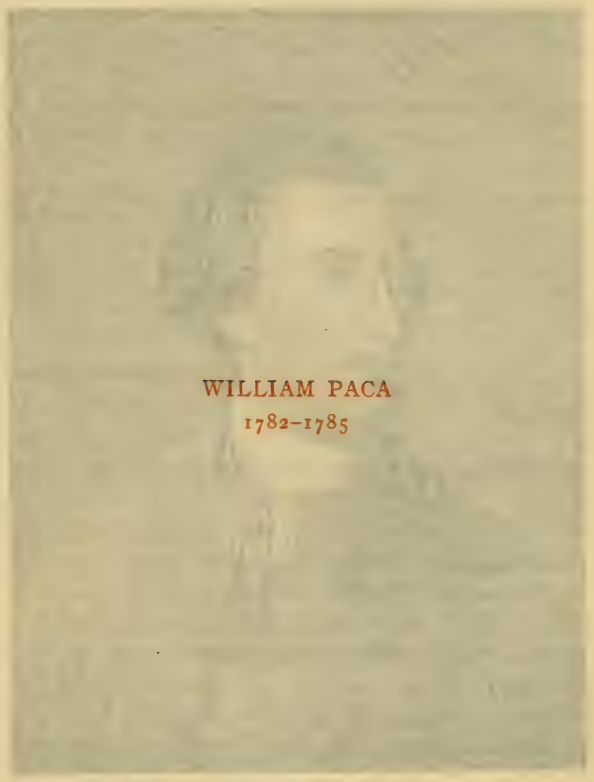
second term he was active in reorganizing the state militia. At the close of his service as governor, in 1794, Mr. Lee established a winter home in Georgetown, D. C. His house became the headquarters for members of the federal party, an organization which Lee heartily supported. He was elected to the United States senate in 1794, and in November, 1798, was unanimously chosen governor of Maryland for what would have made his third administration as the state's executive, but he declined both honors.

Governor Lee was married on October 27, 1771, to Miss Mary Digges, whose father—Ignatius Digges—was a rich landowner of Prince George's county. The young couple soon after took up their residence in Frederick county, where Lee purchased an estate of more than 1500 acres and turned farmer on a large scale. The wife of the governor—known to history as Mrs. Mary Lee—was active during the years of the Revolution in making clothing for the troops and in performing other patriotic services. There were four sons and six daughters in the Lee family. Governor Lee died at his Frederick county home, Needwood, on November 9, 1819, in the seventy-fifth year of his age. Posterity is forced to draw its own conclusions as to the personal appearance of Thomas Sim Lee. He is reputed to have been a very handsome man, but left no portrait of himself. Word pictures, therefore, are the only ones of Maryland's second governor left to the reader, and these, in addition to writing him down as a handsome man, relate that he was six and a third feet high, and that every inch of him was "magnificently proportioned."

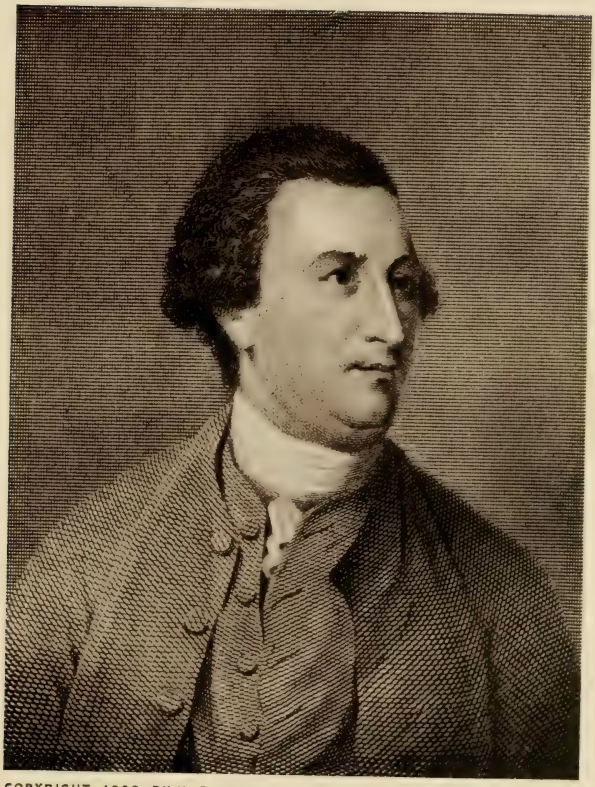
III

WILLIAM PACA

When the historian attempts to price the services of a war politician, his folly leads him into a labyrinth of uncertainties from which he will find it very difficult to extricate himself. The average statesman may be measured according to accepted standards, his labors all labeled and their value correctly calculated. The military leader is also easily disposed of. Data concerning his army and the opposing troops are available; the exact positions of the contending forces may be finely worked out, and all his conflicts reduced to mathematical proportions. But with the war politician the order of things is altogether reversed; nothing is tangible, everything is vague. What has been accomplished, so much is certain; but how it was accomplished must always remain a quantity of unknown value. The people—that is, the masses—may have been full charged for action long before the leader came, needing only an oratorical spark from him to ignite their concealed passion; on the other hand, at his coming they may have been altogether opposed to the things he advocated, making it necessary for him to prepare them for his doctrine before attempting to impart it, or his lot may have been cast where existing conditions were any one of a hundred varieties between these two extremes. It is essential that cognizance be taken of this futility of attempting to weigh accurately the influence of war politicians, in order to be safeguarded from wrongly estimating the worth to his state of Maryland's third governor, and with that cognizance there may come a disinclination to form any estimate at all.



WILLIAM PACA
1782–1785



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When the time arrived for electing a successor to Governor Lee, the general assembly nominated, in November, 1782, St. John Jenifer and William Paca as candidates for state executive. Mr. Paca was elected, and the legislature thus put the administrative affairs of the commonwealth in the hands of a war politician. William Paca was born at Wye Hall, the country seat of the Pacas in Harford county, on October 31, 1740. The governor's father, John Paca, who had early settled in Maryland, held office under the proprietary governors. His independent fortune enabled him to give William, who was his second son, a more thorough education than was enjoyed by most youths of pre-Revolutionary days. At home the boy received careful guidance in the customary branches of classical instruction, and he was afterward sent to Philadelphia to complete his academic studies. At the Philadelphia College—the nucleus of the University of Pennsylvania—Mr. Paca took his bachelor's degree on June 8, 1759. In the same year he began to read law under Stephen Bordley, of Annapolis, and in 1761 was admitted to practice in the mayor's court. Later he went abroad to finish his legal studies, entering Middle Temple, London, as a student, and, upon his return to America, settled in Annapolis and was admitted to practice in the provincial court.

It was during the years of study at Annapolis that Paca made the acquaintance of Samuel Chase, and these two men, vastly different in many respects but both passionate in speech and fond of debate, formed a lasting friendship. At this time also Mr. Paca made his first matrimonial venture, marrying, in 1761, Miss Mary Lloyd, the daughter of Benjamin Chew Lloyd, of Anne Arundel county. At the age of twenty-one Mr. Paca made his first public appearance as a politician, and almost simultaneously with that appearance began his career upon the side of England's most outspoken opponents in America. The stamp act in 1765 and every

subsequent endeavor to impose upon England's colonies unjust taxation brought wrathful denunciation from him. He was a member of the Maryland provincial assembly from 1771 to 1774, and throughout that time was loud in his opposition to the domination of England over the American colonies. In 1774 Mr. Paca became a member of the committee of correspondence, and a year later served in the council of safety. When the port of Boston was closed he was appointed one of the five Maryland delegates to the congress "for the relief of Boston and the preservation of American liberty." He represented Maryland in the Continental congress from 1774 to 1779. Although serving as representative for a people who repeatedly disavowed any hostile intentions toward England, he still labored untiringly for the war party. In 1775 he and Samuel Chase supplied from their own purses funds for providing a volunteer corps with rifles.

A few months before the Declaration of Independence was adopted, a rumor reached the Maryland assembly that some rash people desired congress to declare independence of England, and the members of the assembly became anxious for fear that the representatives from Maryland would join in such an unwise course. Accordingly, a resolution was adopted which declared that Maryland did not entertain views or desires for separation, and "would not be bound by the vote of a majority of congress to declare independence." This attitude continued to the very eve of the passing of the Declaration of Independence. But William Paca, burning with the fire of youth and thirsting for warfare, would deliver a passionate address, appealing to the congress to visit summary punishment upon England for her inconsiderate domination, and then turn to receive a fresh reminder from his constituents that nothing was farther from their desire than a severance of that peace-

giving, happy relationship which bound England and Maryland. Whether Paca's passion roused Marylanders finally to action, or whether the very excess of his fire was responsible for their apparent hesitancy, is one of those doubtful points that must be encountered in the life of the war politician. At last, on June 28, 1776, the Maryland convention withdrew the restrictions it had placed upon the delegates in congress and Mr. Paca and his associates were advised that they might vote as their judgment dictated. Passion had already dictated, and, with startling promptness, they voted for a declaration of independence. The name of William Paca has been accorded a prominence in the minds of Marylanders somewhat out of proportion to the intrinsic worth of his services as compared with those of other leaders of his time, solely because his signature was attached to the Declaration of Independence. And yet it was not through the labors of Paca himself, so much as through those of the larger statesmen, such as Thomas Johnson and Charles Carroll, that he was at last privileged to sign the Declaration as Maryland's representative in congress.

Mr. Paca was named August 17, 1776, one of a committee to "prepare a declaration and charter of rights and a form of government for Maryland," and when that state government was inaugurated he was chosen as a senator in the first assembly. He was also active in the organization of the army that was to sustain the Declaration of Independence, and was one of the committee from Maryland that assisted in planning a naval armament to defend the approach to Philadelphia. With the establishment of some form of government in the colonies Paca readily turned to the judiciary. His training had been strictly legal and his leaning was always toward law. In March, 1778, he was appointed chief judge of the general court of Maryland, in which

office he continued for several years. Just before he was chosen state executive he served as chief judge of the court of appeals in prize and admiralty cases. Paca was elected governor in November, 1782, and the first year of his administration witnessed the beginning of peace in America. Indeed, he was governor when the independence of the colonies became an established fact, for that independence was dependent upon the ability to sustain the declaration. During the three years that he was chief magistrate of Maryland his administration was much concerned with the task of smoothing out the rough places of a hurriedly contrived government and in seeking to lighten the burden of the home-coming warriors.

Late in the year 1783, Governor Paca invited congress to Annapolis and threw his own house open to the president of that body. It was here that Washington, on December 23, 1783, surrendered his commission in the presence of the governor, the general assembly and the Continental congress; and while congress was sitting in Annapolis, the treaty of peace, which had been concluded and signed at Paris, was here ratified, on January 14, 1784. Among the noteworthy activities of Mr. Paca while governor was his labor on behalf of the returning soldiers, who had been promised fifty acres of land under Governor Lee's administration. On May 6, 1783, he informed the members of the assembly that a very considerable number of the troops of the Maryland Line "returned are not nor ever will be fit for service again. They are incapable of doing active duty and ought to be turned over to the invalid corps." And he worked faithfully to see that the men who had contracted sickness on the battlefield were provided for in their distress. After his gubernatorial administration, Mr. Paca was chosen a member of the Maryland convention which ratified the constitution of the United States.

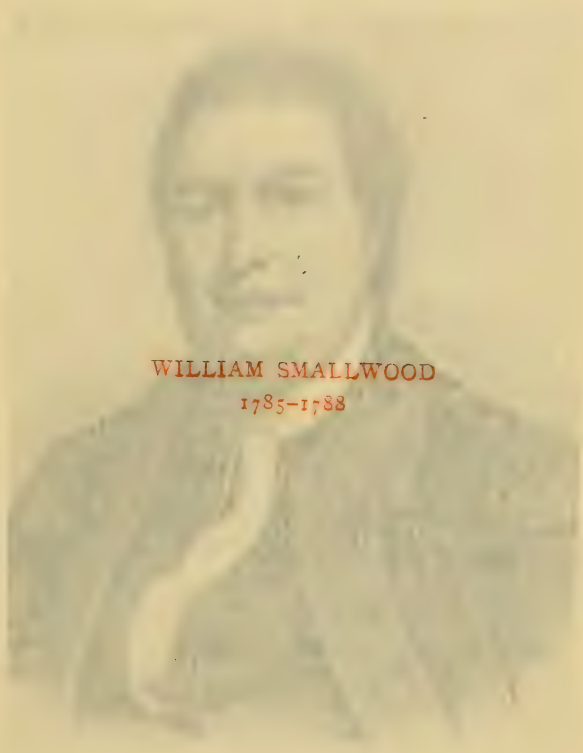
He was appointed by Washington in December, 1789, judge of the United States court of the District of Maryland, and served in this office until his death in 1799. He was vice-president of the Maryland branch of the Society of the Cincinnati from 1784 to 1799. Governor Paca was instrumental in establishing Washington College, at Chestertown, Md., and throughout his life was a strong advocate of higher education. After the death of his first wife, Mr. Paca was married, 1777, to Miss Anne Harrison, of Philadelphia, by whose death, however, a few years later he again became a widower. A writer of earlier times is authority for the statement that "Mr. Paca was a man of remarkably graceful address, fine appearance and polished manner; he had mixed long in the best society and had improved his social powers to a very high degree of refinement. In the office of governor his superiority in these respects was very strikingly displayed, and the courtesies of the executive mansion have never been more elegantly sustained than during his tenure of office."

IV

WILLIAM SMALLWOOD

During the years of America's struggle for independence the people of Maryland placed the administrative affairs of the commonwealth in the hands of men who were more at home in the legislative hall and in the courtroom than upon the battlefield. The first and third governors—Johnson and Paca—had been preëminently jurists, although Mr. Johnson at one time had a leaning toward the war department; Governor Lee, too, was unacquainted with the life of a warrior. But when the war ceased, although the people of the colonies heartily welcomed relief from the strain that had been imposed by the struggle to maintain independence, they felt foremost in their bosoms a passion for militarism. There were certainly men in the land who knew more about government than Washington, but there was none who was as completely enveloped in the glory of the soldier, and so it was Washington who was first chosen to hold the reins of the federal government. And as the leaning of the nation was toward the men who had worn uniforms, so in Maryland the people's eyes, when they sought a successor to Governor Paca, rested first upon one who, perhaps more than any other, had been accepted as the most famous military man of the state—General Smallwood.

William Smallwood was born in Kent county in 1732. His father, Bayne Smallwood, planter and merchant, had been presiding officer in the court of common pleas in colonial days and also a member of the house of burgesses. Priscilla Heberd Smallwood, the governor's mother was by birth a Virginian. The bringing up of William Smallwood



WILLIAM SMALLWOOD
1785–1788



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was regarded as a matter of great importance by both his parents and at a tender age he was sent to England, receiving his preparatory training at Kendall and completing his studies at Eton. In the meanwhile Smallwood cultivated a passion for the life of a soldier, and upon his return to America engaged, though without distinction, in the French and Indian war. From this time until the beginning of the Revolution, Mr. Smallwood occupied only an inconspicuous place in the province, but during these years he was being developed for the task which was to be imposed upon him by the struggling colonies. He was in his forty-third year when the war with England began, and while the echo of the first shot was yet resounding through the land he hurried to the field of action. On April 19, 1775, Lexington witnessed the initial locking of horns of the British soldiery and the American colonists, and five days later William Smallwood, glorying in the title of colonel and commanding 1444 men, left Annapolis for Boston to join the Revolutionary forces. Colonel Smallwood's regiment took part in the battle of Long Island, and two days later the Maryland regiment, then at Fort Putnam, was designated by Washington to cover his retreat into the lines below Fort Washington. The impetuosity of Colonel Smallwood prevented him from distinguishing between covering a retreat and making a charge, and he had the red coats on the run when Washington was forced to send a messenger after him and have his troops recalled.

Colonel Smallwood was not a humane leader. The sacrificing of men was to him a matter of little concern. In many of the engagements in which his command took part the passing of the smoke of battle revealed the sorrowful fact that the majority of his men had been slain. But he knew no such word as retreat, and with something like the unconcern of a god he could see the lines about him crumble

away without for an instant changing his purpose of standing firm. For example, at the battle of White Plains, after Brooks'regiment had "fled in confusion without more than a random scattering fire" when the British appeared, and the artillery followed, Smallwood's regulars and Reitzman's regiment of New Yorkers held their ground as unconcerned as if they constituted the entire Continental forces instead of a very small part of it. Although deserted on all sides, they stood like a rock in the midst of the conflict and "finally, cramped for room, they sullenly retired down the north side of the hill." The troops who then rejoined the Continental forces comprised but a minority of the two regiments, more than half of Smallwood's soldiers having been left dead upon the field while the daring commander himself was carried off, disabled by two wounds received in the last moments of the struggle. On October 23, 1776, Smallwood was commissioned brigadier-general, and his regiment was in the battles of Fort Washington on November 16, 1776; Trenton, December 26, 1776; and Princeton, January 3, 1777, and of its performance Washington recorded: "Smallwood's troops had been reduced to a mere handful of men, but they took part in the engagement with their usual gallantry and won great renown." At Germantown, October 4, 1777, the Maryland Line retrieved the day and captured part of the British camp.

During the war General Smallwood developed to a remarkable degree the faculty of being a disagreeable man. When his quarrels with those who were supposed to be striving for the same purpose as himself are noted there arises a question whether he was less agreeable to encounter on the field of battle or in the barracks. He was strongly opposed to the appointment of foreigners as officers in the Continental army, and as a consequence he had several disagreements

with distinguished warriors who had come from other lands to America's aid. The first encounter of this kind occurred in June, 1778, when Count Pulaski took up his headquarters in Baltimore and began to enlist men for "The Pulaski Legion." When Smallwood observed that men who should have come to him were drifting to Count Pulaski, he protested to the council. But the council—fearing to hurt the count's feelings and not daring to ruffle Smallwood's—plead lack of jurisdiction. In 1780 the Maryland Line marched to the south, and here for some time persevered under General Gates. Although the operations in the south were not altogether successful from the American standpoint, congress was prompted, on October 14, 1780, formally to thank Brigadiers Smallwood and Gist and the officers and soldiers of the Maryland and Delaware lines "for their bravery and good conduct displayed in the action of the 16th of August last, near Camden, in the state of South Carolina." But Camden was the burial ground of the fame of General Gates, and he was deposed, while General Greene assumed command of the southern army. In September, 1780, Smallwood was made a major-general and some of his fellow-officers intimated that he was honored only because he had left no stone unturned in his fight for self-advancement. "At Salisbury," writes Colonel Williams, "120 or 130 miles from the scene of the late action, Smallwood took time to dictate those letters which he addressed to congress and in which he intimated the great difficulties he had encountered and the great exertions he had made to save a remnant of General Gates' army—letters which, with the aid of those he addressed to his friends in power, procured him, it is generally believed in the line, the rank of major-general in the army of the United States, and which probably promoted the resolution of congress directing an inquiry into the conduct of General Gates."

Upon the death of Baron de Kalb, which occurred several days after the battle of Camden, General Smallwood was promoted to command a division. But the removal of Gates brought him under Baron Steuben, and once more he found himself at odds with his fellow-officers. Smallwood refused to serve as subordinate to the foreigner and also demanded of congress that his own commission be dated two years back, upon penalty of losing him as an officer in the Continental forces if his request was not complied with. Washington went on record with an expression of displeasure at Smallwood's endeavor to engage Steuben in a controversy, while congress flatly refused to comply with Smallwood's demand; and yet he continued to serve, remaining in the army until November 15, 1783.

Smallwood was elected to congress in 1785, but before he could begin his duties in that body he was chosen, in November of the same year, to succeed William Paca as state executive, and he served three terms of one year each as governor. During Smallwood's administration the country reached its low water mark as an independent nation. The colonies had granted very small power to the central government, and even this little authority was not respected. The country was in a chaotic state, and throughout the provinces pessimism was widespread. The success of the American colonies as independent and republican states was regarded as a visionary thing, a bubble that had been punctured. It was during Smallwood's administration that the colonies were finally influenced to accept the constitution of the United States. A few weeks after the question of adopting the constitution was submitted to the people of the several states by congress, Smallwood convened the assembly, November 5, 1787, and while that body was in session the delegates to the constitutional convention were invited to appear before it and report. There was a

strong opposition in the state against the constitution, led by Luther Martin, but finally, on April 28, 1788, the constitution was accepted. Smallwood's administration also witnessed the beginning of the work to improve the navigation of the Potomac, the settlement of the claims of British creditors and the devising of methods of paying the national debt.

Governor Smallwood was succeeded in 1788 by Gen. John Eager Howard, another Revolutionary hero, and retired to his estate in southern Maryland. As to his home life little can be said, since a bachelor is not supposed to have any home life, and Smallwood was never married. He died at Mattawoman, on Febuary 14, 1792. He requested that no stone should mark his grave, and it may have been due as much to his unpopularity in certain quarters as to any intention to respect his wish that up to a few years ago his final resting place was practically unmarked. A chestnut tree—sprung, it was claimed, from a nut that had been put into the soft mound of his freshly made grave—was for more than a century all that indicated where the body of Governor Smallwood lay. But on July 4, 1898, the Maryland Society, Sons of the American Revolution, erected a plain granite block, five feet high and nearly square, over the warrior's grave in Charles county. No more appropriate symbol could have been chosen for the man.

V

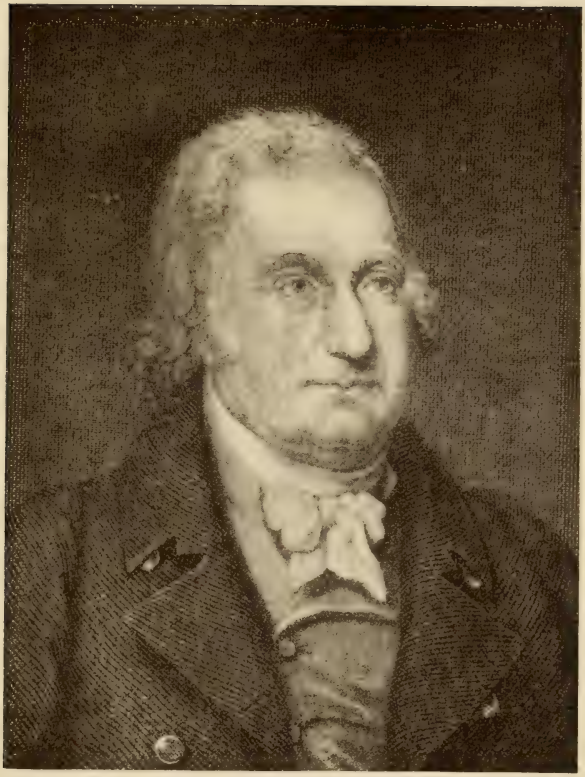
JOHN EAGER HOWARD

During the years of the Revolution there were practically no political parties of pronounced doctrine in America, since no reason appeared for their existence. Everybody—except of course, the tories—was supposed to belong to the party which was opposing England, and it was not until after the independence of the American states had been fully assured that the former subjects of England living in the provinces began to shift about for some form of political faith. It must not be inferred that none of them had previously entertained views upon government, nor must it be supposed that certain forms of government had not already been devised; but how highly speculative were these still imperfect political faiths is shown by the custom, prevailing in the first years under the constitution, which countenanced a member of each of the two leading political parties becoming, at the command of congress, bedfellows, one as president and the other as vice-president. At the close of the Revolution the outlook in America was serious, because the several commonwealths were suspicious of one another, and therefore in no frame of mind to delegate to the representatives of other states any considerable voice in the conduct of their own affairs, while a large part of the American people was favorable to a policy which should reserve to each commonwealth its individuality as a sovereign state. This led to the formation, in 1787, of a party known as the federalist, which had as its aim the support of the proposed constitution of the United States. There also sprang up the anti-federalist party which was dis-



JOHN EAGER HOWARD
1788–1791

ractically
erica, since



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trustful of the expediency of placing in the hands of any central government large authority over the several states. The story of these two parties naturally concerns the reader who would follow the history of Maryland past the administration of Governor Smallwood. The first four state executives were men of no party; they may have had views upon government—they did, indeed, cultivate very decided views—but the opportunity for a man being a party politician did not arrive until about the close of Smallwood's administration, or in 1788, when Colonel Howard, a federalist, was elected to the executive office.

John Eager Howard was born at Belvedere, in Baltimore county, June 4, 1752, the son of Cornelius and Ruth (Eager) Howard. He was one of a vast army of young men, coming to maturity toward the outbreak of the Revolution, who had been trained simply for a life of ease. Private tutors hadbeen provided for him by an indulgent and well-to-do father, and from these he learned what he wanted to know and declined to study what did not appeal to him. When the first shot of the war was fired many of the wealthy young men of the country, who were ready always for a fox hunt or a skirmish, hied themselves to the scene of activity, and among them was young Howard. He had only a few years before reached maturity and was still but a stripling. It is recorded, that he expressed to a member of the committee of safety a desire that he be permitted to join the rebels, and that friend promptly secured for him a commission as colonel. Anecdotes, especially of the Revolutionary period, should be taken with more than a grain of salt, and yet the subsequent acts of Mr. Howard seem to give some plausibility to the rest of the story, which says that he confessed a distrust of his ability to fill the office of colonel, and insisted on being assigned instead to the position of captain. At all events when the "Flying Camp" moved northward

July. Dec 1776

Howard set forth to try his worth as a warrior. He was at the battle of White Plains on October 28, 1776, and in other smaller engagements. In December, when his term of service expired, he reënlisted, taking rank as a major in the Fourth Maryland. At the battle of Germantown, October 4, 1777, Howard assumed command of the regiment upon the disabling of Lieutenant-Colonel Hall. In June, 1779, he was promoted to lieutenant-colonel, his commission dating from March 11. He accompanied the Maryland troops when they started for the Carolinas, in 1780, and was present at the disastrous battle of Camden.

Throughout these years Mr. Howard advanced steadily; and succeeded in attracting to himself some attention as an officer of considerable ability, but it was not until 1781, or in the latter part of the Revolution, that he really won fame. His name is linked inseparably with the story of the battle of Cowpens, for it was there that an apparent American defeat was turned to an American victory, and the Marylander was the man who did the turning. Victories were needed to cheer the hearts of the discouraged colonists, and for the cheer which Howard's feat sent forth the people were quick in according gratitude.

On January 17, 1781, the British under Tarleton engaged the Continentals under General Morgan, including Howard's regiment. Morgan, observing that by the movement of the British army Howard's right was being exposed, ordered the latter to retreat. But before Howard could execute the order Tarleton began a charge. Colonel Howard seeing the enemy advance toward his regiment and feeling at his heart a twitching to be courteous and meet him halfway, disregarded his orders, turned his men about and fired upon the enemy. Tarleton's men were unprepared for the shot which was poured in upon them and wavered in their advance. Their hesitancy was fatal, for General Howard, seeing them

falter, commanded his men to charge with fixed bayonets the line from which he had been ordered to protect himself by a retreat. The enemy was hung almost to a man upon the American's bayonets; Cowpens was a victory and Howard thenceforth a hero. General Morgan rode up to his daring subordinate and said: "You have done well, for you are successful; had you failed I should have shot you." Upon which Howard calmly responded: "Had I failed there would have been no need of shooting me."

A writer of the time is authority for the statement that Howard at that moment held in his hand the swords of seven British officers who had surrendered to him. But, of all the records of the affair there is none which wins as high admiration for the hero as a story which he himself related. It certifies that Howard, as daring as Smallwood while in action, possessed a depth of humanity that spoke of a heart even bigger than his courage. "My attention," wrote Howard, "was now drawn to an altercation of some of the men with an artilleryman, who appeared to make it a point of honor not to surrender his match. The men, provoked by his obstinacy, would have bayoneted him on the spot had I not interfered and desired them to spare the life of so brave a man. He then surrendered his match."

In the battle of Eutaw Springs, September 8, 1781, Howard's regiment was reduced to thirty men while Howard, toward the close of the struggle, fell, severely wounded. A few months later Howard set out for his home and of the departing Marylander General Greene wrote: "My own obligations to him are great—the public's still more so. He deserves a statue of gold, no less than the Roman and Grecian heroes." Colonel Howard retired to his home in Baltimore county, but, like many of the soliders who found their occupation gone, he soon turned to politics as a means of employing his talents. He was a member of the Conti-

nental congress in 1787 and 1788, and in the latter year was elected governor of Maryland to succeed General Smallwood.

Mr. Howard appeared as the standard-bearer of a political body, which had not been the case with his predecessors in the executive office. He was very much a federalist and held to the principles of that party even up to the time when it opposed the second war with England. He served three terms of one year each as governor, being reëlected in 1789 and 1790. During this period the state of Maryland cast her six electoral votes for Washington as the first president. Governor Howard's administration also witnessed preparations for the founding of a national capital, the Maryland assembly, voting, December 23, 1788, in favor of ceding a tract of land 10 miles square for the seat of the central government. When the legislature of Virginia undertook to make a loan to the federal government for the purpose of erecting governmental buildings, the state of Maryland, 1789, provided for the sale of public lands to the amount of $72,000, the proceeds to be lent to the national government for the same purpose. At the close of his administration Colonel Howard retired to private life. In 1794 he was offered a position in the regular army with the rank of major-general, but declined it. The following year he was elected state senator and in 1796 he was chosen as the successor of Richard Potts in the United States senate. The unexpired term to which Howard was chosen was for one year, and at the termination of this short service he was reëlected for a full term of six years, serving until 1803. Howard had been invited by Washington in 1795 to become a member of his official family by accepting the portfolio of war, but was constrained to decline the office.

Despite his natural inclination toward a military career

and his political activities, Howard was a man who loved best the moments he spent at his own fireside. He had married, on May 18, 1787, Miss Margaret Chew of Philadelphia. The Howards had five sons—almost all of whom won distinction in their state—and four daughters. Four of the boys, including the one named after Governor Howard, were in the War of 1812–15, taking part in the battle of North Point. His grandson, also bearing his name, was in the Mexican War, while George Howard, another son, was elected governor of Maryland. In 1814, while the British were occupying Washington, there was talk in Baltimore of capitulation. At this time Governor Howard organized a regiment of veterans, and, placing himself at their head, took the field, although he was not afforded opportunity to see much active service. Colonel Howard was a prominent figure in the councils of the federalist party until 1816, when that organization named him for vice-president. But the federalists' stand in the War of 1812–15 had been their undoing and Howard and his fellow candidates on the federal ticket were defeated. After that Colonel Howard was less active in public affairs. He spent his days in a quiet, peaceable, uneventful sort of life at Belvedere. Mrs. Howard died in 1824, and thereafter the old warrior and statesman was little seen in public. Early in October, 1827, he contracted a severe cold, and died on the twelfth of that month. His funeral was attended by a host of high dignitaries, including President Adams.

VI

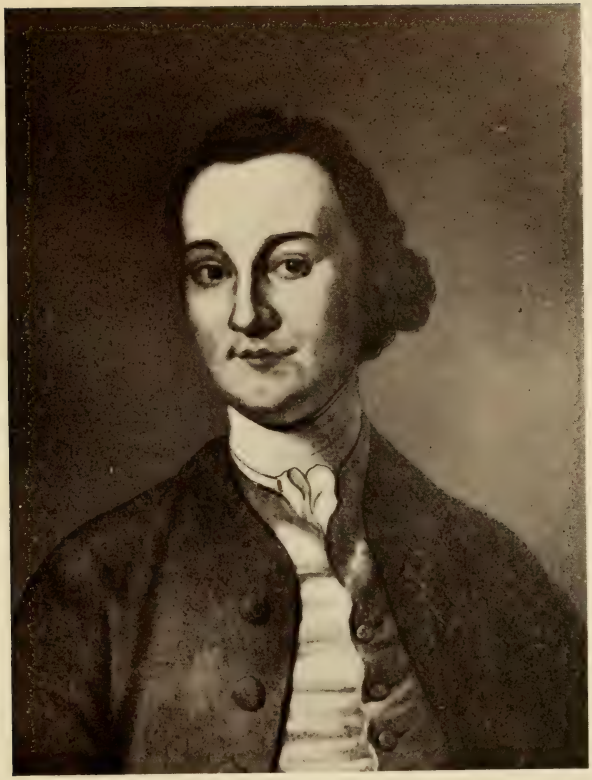
GEORGE PLATER

Since "all the world's a stage," it is not unreasonable to assume that even history in many parts is only a record of the performance of those who make-believe. Yet, though history's pages generally be filled with tales of the heroic and the sensational, here and there is found evidence of the presence of humbler creatures, who seem to be there chiefly to afford a background for their less retiring contemporaries. Occasionally the reader in the Revolutionary period of American history finds a page across which flits, as if by the merest chance, one of these modest historical personages; but instead of being offended because of the apparently unwarranted intrusion, he learns to welcome it with more warmth than is given the appearance of many of the chief actors. And these quiet, unassuming men have their historic value. First of all, they bring home to him who surveys those times the fact that not all men were then conventional heroes. These commonplace characters serve, too, as ballast for a story that threatens sometimes to take on the aspect of myth. But to speak of one of the chief magistrates of Maryland as a commonplace man is, perhaps, to give offense; and therefore the critical biographer of Governor Howard's successor is apt to be offensive. Not that Mr. Plater was an incapable man, nor that as a statesman he revealed small ability; but the even tenor of his life and the absence of anything notable in a career that had so many opportunities for notable service, cause his public record to be completely overshadowed by the lives of most of the leaders of his day.



GEORGE PLATER

1791–1792



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George Plater was born at Sattorly, near Leonardtown, St. Mary's county, November 8, 1735. He was, therefore, at the time of the Revolution, one of the more mature citizens of the province as compared with the youths of John Eager Howard's stripe. His father, Colonel George Plater, had held among other public offices that of member of Lord Baltimore's council of state. The son was trained for the legal profession, but preparatory to taking up the study of law was graduated from William and Mary College (1753). As a lawyer he did not possess that passion for debate and appreciation of the spectacular that caused his fellows, of no greater mental caliber than he, to forge ahead of him. But his mind was well developed and he reverenced the law with a reverence that was little short of worship. Entering the political arena at Annapolis at a time when the public voice was beginning to be tinged with accusations and denunciations of England, Mr. Plater was almost bound to become infected with the germs of "opposition." A lawyer in the decade or so preceding the war for independence had no surer way of informing the people that he was prepared to receive clients than by taking the stump in more or less intelligent discussion of England's disregard of the colonies' rights. But George Plater was never one of the violent fire-eaters.

Early in his public career, from 1767 to 1773, he filled acceptably the position of naval officer at Patuxent, in which capacity his father had served before him. He was elected as a representative of his county in the convention that assembled at Annapolis on May 8, 1776, and that invited Governor Eden, the representative of the English crown, to vacate. A few weeks later, May 26, he was appointed one of the council of safety, and he was elected a delegate from his county to the convention which met at Annapolis on August 14, 1776. While it has been inferred that Mr.

Plater was a commonplace man, it was rather with the aim to stress his quiet demeanor in filling the public offices given him, as opposed to the gallery play of many men of his time, than to discredit him or belittle his intrinsic worth. He was not a man of large creative ability; he was not a legislator of extensive influence, nor did he possess an individuality of marked distinction; but withal he was a reliable representative of the people as long as the atmosphere in which he existed was legal or constitutional. His value as a lawyer and a lawmaker came to be fully appreciated by both his constituents and the representatives at Annapolis, and on August 17, 1776, he was appointed a member of the committee chosen "to prepare a declaration and charter and a form of government" for the state. He was elected a member of the Continental congress in 1778, serving consecutively until 1781. After his service in the Continental congress he was repeatedly chosen as the representative of St. Mary's in the upper house of the general assembly and on several occasions was president of the senate. When the constitution of the United States was submitted to the several commonwealths for ratification, Mr. Plater was a member of the Maryland convention elected to vote upon the document This body, which finally ratified the constitution on April 28, 1788, was presided over by him.

It is doubtful just how much Mr. Plater contributed to the defeat of the enemies of the constitution, but it is certain that by his intelligent and just direction over a body of men which was somewhat easily influenced he helped to win favor for the instrument which was designed to bind together the thirteen states. William Paca was anxious to have the convention adopt certain amendments to the constitution, and was requested to prepare a series of proposed changes; but when Mr. Paca rose to present his amendments, he was informed that the convention had been assembled

not to amend the constitution, but to vote for its ratification. A significant testimonial to Mr. Plater's guidance of the deliberations of the body is found in the record that, after the remarks of William Paca upon his proposed amendments, the convention offered a vote of thanks to its president and then adjourned without acting upon Paca's suggestion. In 1789 Mr. Plater appeared as a candidate for presidential elector on the federalistic ticket, and cast his vote for George Washington for president

At the close of Mr. Howard's administration it seems that gubernatorial material was scarce. The legislature had become discouraged in the matter of electing governors, since it was a common occurrence for a citizen, after having been chosen governor of the state, upon being notified of his election by a committee of the legislature, to inform it that he could not serve. For this reason the legislators learned to train their gaze for available timber just a little lower than they had at first been accustomed to do. In 1791 they invited George Plater to serve as governor of Maryland, and Mr. Plater accepted, becoming the sixth governor of the state. Governor Plater's administration, however, was short. His health soon became impaired and early in the year following his election he died, breathing his last on February 10, 1792. He was buried at his birthplace, Sattorly. His brief service as chief magistrate of Maryland contains no single event of great moment outside of the locating of the national capital—an affair in which Maryland had a deep concern.

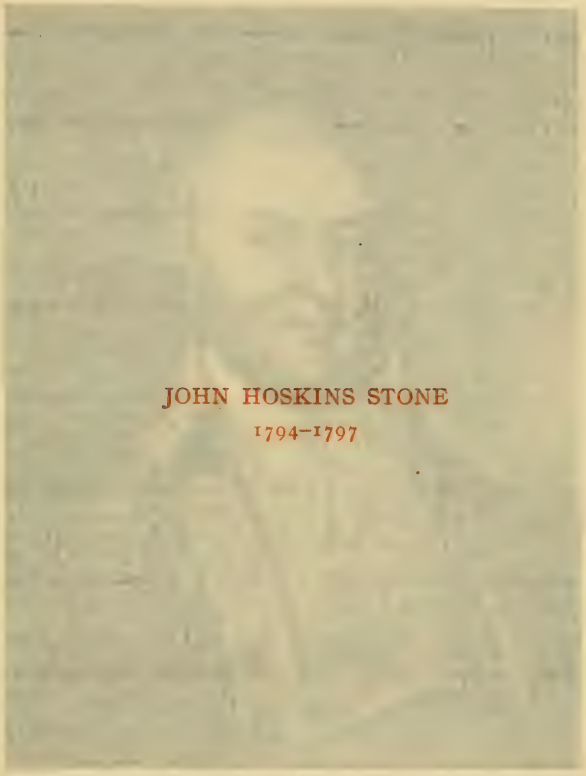
Mr. Plater was twice married. His first wife, who had been Miss Hannah Lee, died in 1763. His second wife was Elizabeth Rousby, a granddaughter of Ann Rousby, the widow of the first George Plater—Governor Plater's grandfather. This second marriage was solemnized on July 10, 1764.

VII

JOHN HOSKINS STONE

Toward the close of the eighteenth century Maryland stood sorely in need of a constructionist for governor. Some of the earlier state executives had been constructionist to a slight extent, but they were constructive legislators, not executives. Mr. Johnson, for instance, was not anxious to resume the administration of the state's affairs, because he had come to believe, that in the legislative halls or on the bench were open the only opportunities to blaze the way for more perfect government, and that in the executive office there was presented little chance to do more than represent the commonwealth socially. But with all his far-sightedness, Governor Johnson, among other leaders of his day, failed to see that the gubernatorial office was denied the right to become constructive only because no large man assumed the lead in imparting to the office this power. These leaders did not seem to realize the fact that the proper man with the proper spirit might broaden the dignity and prerogatives of the gubernatorial office until its social side should become secondary and its political power advance it to the first office in the state. It was not until after the second administration of Governor Lee that there was called to the executive chair a man who fully realized the needs of the occasion—who, too, possessed daring and originality enough to experiment, and was endowed with tact sufficient to avoid giving offense. This man, elected in 1794, was Governor Stone.

John Hoskins Stone was born in Charles county, Maryland, in 1745. On his paternal side he was a descendant



JOHN HOSKINS STONE

1794–1797



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of William Stone, who, toward the close of the first half of the seventeenth century, was appointed governor of Maryland by Lord Baltimore. His father was David Stone and his mother was a daughter of Daniel Jenifer. Young Stone was trained for a legal career. He received at the private schools of Charles county what was then considered a liberal education and obtained the finishing touches to his professional training by being brought in contact with the leading legal lights of the day. When the American Revolution became inevitable Mr. Stone had reached the age of thirty years and had already won a fair amount of attention as a lawyer, both in his own county and at Annapolis. In November, 1774, he had been chosen to serve on the committee from Charles county which was to carry out the resolutions of congress. He was a member of the committee of correspondence and, in 1775, a member of the Association of Freemen of Maryland. Like many a young political leader of his day, he was prompt in answering the call to arms. Even before his native state had sanctioned a declaration of independence he mounted his war horse to fight for separation. On January 14, 1776, he was elected a captain in Colonel Smallwood's First Maryland Battalion and served with sufficient distinction to receive a promotion to a colonelcy by the following December. But the military ability of Mr. Stone must always remain an unknown quantity, for when he had attained to a position where he would best be able to show the stuff of which he was made, misfortune interposed herself between him and opportunity. It is recorded that he fought with distinction at the battles of Long Island, White Plains, Princeton and Germantown, but at none of these places did he win greater praise than was accorded many of his fellow-officers. At the engagement of Germantown, however, he received a severe wound, which not only disabled him from further military service

but crippled him for life. For some time he clung to a vain hope that he would be able to resume service with the Continental forces, but finally, on August 1, 1779, he resigned his commission and again became a private citizen of Maryland.

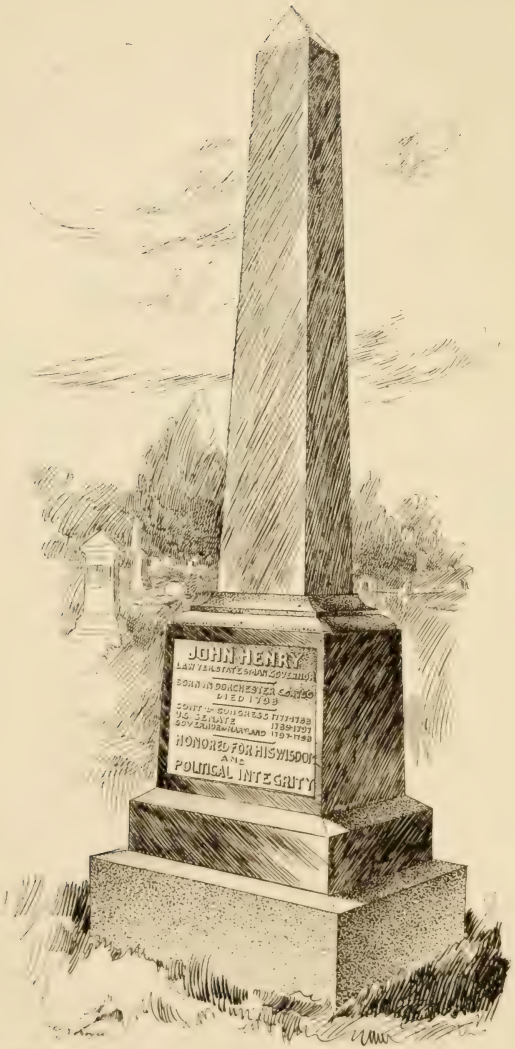
Mr. Stone's misfortune succeeded in diverting his ambition from the military to the political field, and in November of the year 1779 he resumed his position in the council chambers of Maryland, and was named as a member of the executive council chosen to advise Thomas Sim Lee, then governor. Two years later in 1781, Mr. Stone became a clerk in the office of Robert Livingston, who was secretary of foreign affairs under the articles of confederation. He was elected a member of the house of delegates in 1786, and was named as one of the committee to prepare instructions for commissioners to the Philadelphia convention, which framed the constitution of the United States. For a period of several years thereafter Mr. Stone dropped somewhat from the public eye, but in 1794, when he was chosen governor of the State of Maryland, he assumed a position of much importance in both the affairs of Maryland and of the nation. He had been a hearty supporter of the federal party, and it was as a federal candidate that he was chosen governor. The newly elected executive realized first of all, that the office of chief magistrate in Maryland was not as important as it should be, and he devised means for augmenting its dignity. He seemed indisposed to let the legislators not only pass the laws, but create them, while the governor devoted his time to basking in the smiles of fashionable society. The means which suggested itself to him as opening up a new avenue of influence for the gubernatorial office, was the outlining by the executive of the affairs of moment which to his mind were deserving of the consideration of the legislature. With the purpose of thus enlarging the influence of his office, the governor

addressed a message to the legislature at the opening of the session, in which he called attention to those duties that he thought confronted it. The members of the assembly were pleased with the innovation of a governor's message. "Although not sanctioned by precedent," they wrote him, "or enjoined by the constitution, such communications certainly have their use, and we wish that future governors may follow the laudable example whenever it may seem expedient to submit to the legislature such matters as they shall judge deserving its attention."

The inauguration of the practice of sending a message from the executive mansion to the legislature at the beginning of a session is the greatest monument of Governor Stone's constructive administration. Another accomplishment, though of less importance, was the aid which he, and the legislature at his instigation, rendered the national government in the matter of erecting buildings. After the city of Washington had been laid out and everything was in readiness to begin construction, it was found that the available funds would not go far toward defraying the necessary expense. An effort was made to float a foreign loan, but it proved futile. As a last resort Washington wrote a personal appeal to Maryland to aid the federal government in its endeavors to house the machinery of the central government. In response to Washington's appeal Maryland, toward the end of 1796, lent the national government $100,000. This amount was subsequently increased on two occasions, making it $250,000.

Another feature of Governor Stone's administration was the hearty support that was given by Maryland to Washington during that period when his enemies were making bitter attacks upon him. The Maryland assembly, on November 25, 1795, went on record as being fully in accord with Washington upon all the affairs of his admin-

istration and entirely opposed to those who sought to discredit him. The first president was again subjected to attacks in 1796, and in December of that year the legislature once more expressed by resolution its full faith in Washington. Governor Stone wrote Washington, under date of December 16, 1796: "I consider it the most agreeable and honorable circumstance of my life that during my administering the government of Maryland I should have been twice gratified in communicating to you the unanimous and unreserved approbation of my countrymen of your public conduct, as well as their gratitude for your eminent services." Mr. Stone was twice reëlected governor, bringing to an end his three terms of one year each in 1797. After his retirement from the executive mansion, he continued to live in Annapolis with Mrs. Stone, who had been a Miss Couden before her marriage, and their daughter. But he gradually withdrew from public affairs. He died October 5, 1804.



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VIII

JOHN HENRY



MONUMENT OF JOHN HENRY

1797-1798

Christ Episcopal Cemetery, Cambridge, Md.

VIII

JOHN HENRY

From the very beginning of America's struggle for independence the several states were violently and unreservedly opposed to sectional control. If it had been announced in the closing years of the eighteenth century that England contemplated attempting to resubjugate her American colonies, it is probable that the states in a leisurely sort of way would have appointed delegates to go to the mother-country and seek to convince her of the uselessness of such an attempt. But if a rumor had crept into anyone of the commonwealths that some state or states of another section contemplated assuming rule over it, or even meditated a course that would give them a small control in that particular commonwealth's administration, every man, woman and child of the state conspired against would have risen up instantly and armed for stubborn resistance. It is not strange, therefore, that in the childhood days of the United States the Eastern Shoreman of Maryland should have taken issue with his fellow-statesman on the western banks of the Chesapeake and declared that the Western Shoreman should not have one whit more authority in the direction of the commonwealth's affairs than he. It was the spirit of all Americans that was manifesting itself, for the citizen of the United States regarded as poison the attempt of any body of men to control because of their geographical position. And in the ardent support which was accorded Mr. Henry as senatorial, gubernatorial and presidential candidate there is found at least a tracing of

the determination of the Eastern Shoreman to divide evenly between the two sections control of Maryland's affairs.

John Henry was born at Weston, the Henry home stead, in Dorchester county in the month of November, 1750. His father, Colonel John Henry, represented his county in the legislature. His mother was a daughter of Colonel Rider, an Englishman, who came to America in the early part of the eighteenth century and settled in Dorchester county. Young Henry was sent to the West Nottingham Academy, in Cecil county, where he prepared for college. He then entered the College of New Jersey (subsequently Princeton), from which he was graduated in 1769. He continued his studies in New Jersey and later went to England, where he took up law in the Temple. In England he mingled freely in the best society, and while the war clouds were gathering in his native land, joined in merry debate with the youths of Britain upon the subjects that were being considered very seriously by his fellow-countrymen at home. Mr. Henry sailed for America the year preceding the rupture with England and immediately upon his arrival began to entertain his fellow-countians with the feats of argument which he had performed while engaged in mental battles with the young men across the sea. The manner of the speaker and his culture soon won him the favor of Eastern Shoremen, and he was sent to represent his county in the council hall of Maryland.

John Henry was elected delegate to the Continental congress in 1777 and served in that body from 1778 to 1781. He was again elected in 1784 and continued a member until 1787. He was appointed in 1787 a member of the committee which was to prepare an ordinance for the Northwest Territory. During his first term in congress Mr. Henry was a warm champion of the men who were carrying on the conflict in the fields and also a rather severe critic of the

merchantmen who sought to reap a golden harvest through the pressing needs of the people. He was, first of all, a fearless critic, and both the mercenaries, who were striving to amass fortunes by overcharging the people, and the legislators, who showed little wisdom in the management of the country's affairs, came in for blunt judgment at his hand.

The close of Mr. Henry's service in the Continental congress witnessed an increase of the strife between the people of the Eastern and Western Shores of Maryland as to the division of power which should hold under the federal constitution. The chief concern of the people at this time centered upon the question of the election of two United States senators. On December 9, 1788, members of the state senate and of the house met in joint convention for the election of senators and the absence of unity in the state of Maryland was again manifested, for the Eastern Shore members carried a resolution which required that "one senator should be a resident of the Western Shore and the other of the Eastern Shore." John Henry and George Gale from the Eastern Shore and Charles Carroll of Carrollton and Uriah Forrest from the Western Shore were named. Several ballots were taken before any one candidate received the required number of the votes cast, and then John Henry, having polled forty-two tickets, was declared to have been elected. Mr. Henry was, therefore, the first senator elected by Maryland to a seat in congress. The body then adjourned until the following day, when the names of Charles Carroll and Uriah Forrest were put in nomination for the Western Shore senatorship, and Mr. Carroll was elected. The terms for which the first senators were elected were unequal, one being for six years and the other for only two years. The senators-elect drew for the terms which should fall to each and Mr Henry secured the six-year slip. At

the close of his first term, in 1795, he was reëlected for four years additional, but did not complete the second term, resigning to accept the governorship.

In the election of Mr. Henry as executive of Maryland there is presented further evidence of the struggle between Marylanders on the eastern side of the bay against any endeavor of the Western Shoremen to control the affairs of the state. General Smallwood, an Eastern Shoreman, who served as state executive many years before Mr. Henry, was not chosen to office because of his political faith nor the section of his birth; but solely upon his military record. He represented the sentimental candidate, and as far as political affairs were concerned was a nonentity. But when Mr. Henry was nominated in the closing days of 1797, his candidacy appealed to some people most forcibly because he represented a section, and had been selected by the voters upon the Eastern Shore as a fit subject upon whom to bestow the greatest honor at their command. He had, however, long been a prominent laborer in the federalist party. When the country was called upon to elect a successor to President Washington in 1795 the name of John Henry was mentioned for that office, and he polled two votes in the electoral college; the same number that was given to Washington, who, however, had some time before declared that under no circumstances would he become a candidate for reëlection.

John Henry was elected the successor of Governor Stone on November 13, 1797, on the joint ballot of the two houses. But he was not altogether to the liking of the entire body of legislators, and some daring opponent of his moved that the words "unanimously elected," customarily entered upon the record when a candidate was unopposed, be stricken from the minutes. In other words, the election was not unanimous; but the majority of the members of

the legislature decided that it should be entered as "unanimous" and refused to grant the requested change in the journal of the legislature. Governor Henry was in office for but one year. Because of failing health he declined to stand for reëlection. His administration was marked by a thorough reorganization of the militia of the state. At this time the country was putting on its war paint preparatory to doing battle with its late ally, France. It was stirred to its depths with hatred for the nation to which it had sworn a lasting friendship. Washington, but lately retired from public affairs, was called out of his seclusion and directed once more to lead the American army into action as its commander-in-chief. The people in Maryland and throughout the Union began to build fortifications and to prepare generally for a conflict. And then, when there had been as much excitement as could have been gotten out of an actual war, the bubble was pricked, the war clouds dispersed and America extended the hand of friendship to France. On November 12, 1798, Thomas Sim Lee was elected governor of Maryland as successor to Mr. Henry. He declined to serve, however, and two days later Benjamin Ogle was chosen in his stead.

John Henry had been married in 1787, to Miss Margaret Campbell, of Caroline county, by whom he had two sons. Like Governor Lee, he left no portrait of himself. He died at Weston, December 16, 1798, after having spent a little more than one month in retirement from the executive mansion. He was buried in the old family burial ground at Weston. In 1908 his body was removed to Christ Episcopal Cemetery, Cambridge, Md., and over his grave a fitting memorial monument was erected by his descendants.

IX

BENJAMIN OGLE

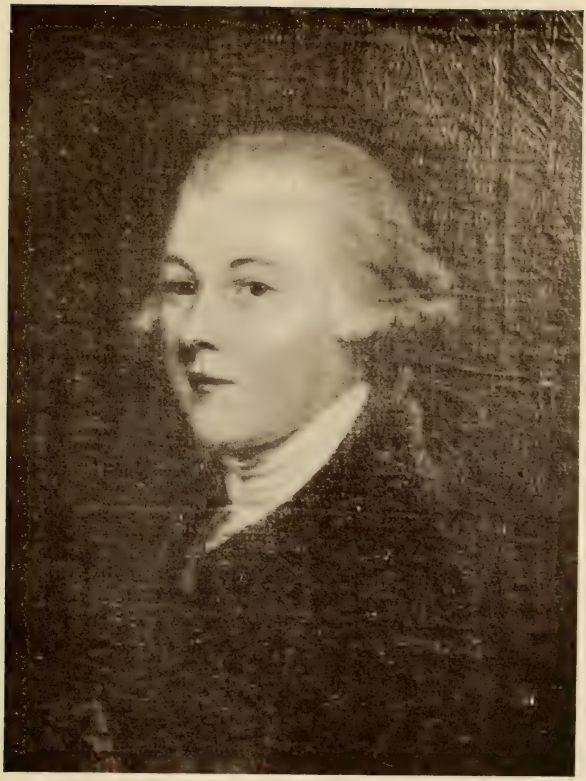
When the legislature, in 1798, undertook to provide a successor to Governor Henry, its choice first fell upon Thomas Sim Lee, who had already had two administrations of three and two years, respectively. Governor Lee was at this time the strongest federalist that Maryland afforded, but he declined to serve again as the executive of the state. The legislature had several times been forced to accept a declination from one who had been chosen to the high office of governor, and invariably after one of these humiliating experiences it sought out a less conspicuous citizen upon whom to bestow the honor. On November 14, 1798, therefore, the senate and house in joint session presented the names of two men who had not won great fame theretofore in the affairs of the commonwealth, and Benjamin Ogle and Nicholas Carroll were nominated for the office of governor. The interest—or lack of it—that was manifested by others than the assembly members and the two candidates in the result of this election is indicated by an item in the federal Gazette of Baltimore, Thursday, November 15, 1798, in which announcement is made that: "A gentleman from Annapolis has politely handed us the following correct elections by the general assembly of governor and council—Benjamin Ogle, governor; Messrs. Shaaf, Davidson, Thomas, Brice and Wilmer, council."

Benjamin Ogle, the successful candidate, was a son of Samuel Ogle, whose name occupies much space in the colonial history of Maryland, where he is recorded as one of the proprietary governors and a man of much independence



BENJAMIN OGLE
1798–1801.

BENJAMIN OGLE



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and courage. Benjamin Ogle was born at Annapolis on February 7, 1746. He had not, however, reached an age when the great drama being acted before his eyes would be intelligible to him when death brought to a close his father's participation in American affairs. Although his grandfather, Benjamin Tasker, succeeded to the direction of the state's government, young Ogle was early sent to England to receive his education, and in this way was denied any part in the bitter discussions that tore asunder the people of America and the representatives of the English authorities just before the Revolution. When he returned to America he immediately began to play a part, though a modest one, in the affairs of Maryland. He was a member of the council and also served upon a county committee of observation, but he attracted no great amount of attention through either position. During the years of the Revolution he occupied a rather inconspicuous place in Maryland affairs, generally holding aloof from the stirring events of those stirring years. He first came into real prominence in the government of the commonwealth when he was elected state executive in 1798.

The feature of Governor Ogle's administration that assumed the greatest importance was the widening of the chasm between federalists and republicans. Mr. Ogle's governorship did not witness a pitched battle between these two political forces, except in so far as the legislature selected as his successor one who was allied with the republican party. But the years during which Benjamin Ogle was executive witnessed a disastrous blow to the political adherents of the federalistic faith in the loss of Washington. It has been asserted that but for the large influence of Washington the constitution of the United States would not have been adopted by Maryland. The assertion is, perhaps, a bit extravagant; but it must be admitted that no other man

inspired the people of Maryland and of the other states with confidence in the proposed constitution to such an extent as did Washington. The name of Washington was the watchword of the federal party. His death, therefore, was an enormous misfortune to the members of his political faith. As long as the party leaders had his name to parade before the people when the public's confidence wavered, so long were they able to cope with the attacks of their enemies. But when the influence of Washington's name as a political factor was lost, and at the same time the strength of the republicans began to assert itself more positively, then the people of the country generally—except, of course, the more optimistic republican leaders—became greatly alarmed. From one end of the nation to the other the people lost confidence, and the preparations of the republicans to strive after control of affairs in states and nation were regarded as presaging the downfall of the American republic.

When the death of Washington was announced, Governor Ogle, in compliance with the request of the general assembly, issued a proclamation, December 18, 1799, suggesting that "the eleventh day of February next be observed throughout this state as a day of mourning, humiliation and prayer for the deceased; that the citizens on that day go into mourning and abstaining, as far as may be, from their secular occupation, devote the time to the sacred duties of religion; that they call to mind the virtues, public services and unshaken patriotism of the deceased, and admiring, endeavor to emulate them; that they implore the Most High God to supply his loss by inspiring them with a love of true liberty and pure religion, and by dispensing the blessing of peace and knowledge throughout the land; and that He would grant to the people of this and the United States, that the wisdom and virtues of a Washington may never cease to influence and direct our public councils."

Maryland's history in the closing years of the eighteenth century reflects in no uncertain way the conflict which was on between the federalists and the republicans, and the alarm caused by the latter's doctrine that the people should not regard as paramount in a man's fitness to direct public affairs the question of either birth or wealth. This conflict did not reach its full blossom until the early part of the nineteenth century, but the years that were covered by the administration of Governor Ogle witnessed preparation for battle, the alignment of opposing forces; it was the eve of a political war in America for advancement along republican lines in government.

Governor Ogle was, in a way, the last of the old-time federalist executives. He held office while the republican forces under Jefferson were striving, and with success, to oust the federalists from control of national affairs. He was in office while the leaders of Maryland were assembling their followers for a like struggle within the state. But he was unmolested by either conflict. He represented the federal party, yet his administration, while not noteworthy for any advancement which he sought or helped to engineer, was sufficiently conservative to be inoffensive to the legislature, no matter how its political complexion might be changing. The greatest praise, perhaps, that can be accorded him as state executive is that of having held office for three years without permitting the rancor that was rampant throughout the country to reach the garments of the chief magistrate; and, when the bitterness and excitement of the period is borne in mind, this accomplishment need not be regarded as insignificant. After the close of Ogle's administration, in 1801—when he was no longer eligible for reëlection because of the constitutional proviso which restricted the state executive to three terms of one year each—he retired to his estate, Belair, where he spent

his remaining days. Governor Ogle was twice married, Miss Rebecca Stilley and Miss Henrietta Margaret Hill being his first and second wives, respectively. He died on July 6, 1809, in his sixty-fourth year.



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JOHN FRANCIS MERCER



JOHN FRANCIS MERCER
1821-1903

X

JOHN FRANCIS MERCER

It is a common practice of American historians to trace the downfall of the federalist party to a host of contributory causes, all of which are made to appear fairly plausible, but none of which is absolutely conclusive. The weak spot of the federal party was not its political doctrines so much as its social decrees; and when the enemies of the federalists beheld the vulnerable spot in their opponents' defense they threw their whole strength against it and won success. In the Maryland constitution, as adopted in 1776, the right to vote was confined to those who were above the age of twenty-one and possessed real or personal property to a specific amount. A candidate for member of the house of delegates was not eligible unless he owned property to the value of £500; a candidate for the state senate had to possess at least £1,000 in his own right, and the office of governor was not open to those who were not independently rich. The struggle of the republicans (the founders of the present democratic party) against the federalists was for a complete revision of this method of prescribing who should enjoy the elective franchise and hold public office. In 1801 the leaders who were striving for reforms, for a winning of America from aristocracy—toward which it was trending—to republicanism—for which they felt the blood of her sons had been spilled—succeeded in gaining control of the executive mansion, and with the beginning of republican rule in Maryland was inaugurated a campaign against these unrepublican laws in the matter of governing the commonwealth. But the election of a

republican governor to succeed Mr. Ogle represents more than a turning from aristocratic principles; it is significant as showing how the political leaders of the state were substituting for a blind reverence of all things federalistic a practical appreciation of things meritorious. The federalists, in the day of their glory, scornfully cast out those who were not of their way of thinking. The proposed federal constitution had not pleased all the intellectual giants of the land; but it pleased the majority, and this majority arrogantly ignored the views of the minority. Mr. Mercer, the new chief magistrate, however, was not only a man who at the time of his election stood for republican doctrines, but one who, in the days before the adoption of the constitution, had strongly opposed that instrument.

John Francis Mercer was born at Marlborough, Stafford county, Va., on May 17, 1759. He was the son of Robert and Ann (Roy) Mercer and grandson of Robert Mercer, Sr., who emigrated to Virginia in 1740. He received what in those days was considered a liberal academic education, being graduated from William and Mary College in 1775. His father planned to have him prepare for the legal profession; but the oncoming storm that was to free the colonies interfered. As soon as war became inevitable, young Mercer cast aside his books and sought an opportunity to take up arms against England. Early in the year 1776 he announced his intention of joining the Revolutionary forces, and on February 26, 1776, was commissioned lieutenant in the Third Virginia Regiment. He took part in the battle of Brandywine on September 11, 1777, when he was slightly wounded. In the same month he was promoted to captain, his commission dating from June 27, and the following year he became attached as aide-de-camp to the staff of the ill-fated and ill-humored Charles Lee.

Under Lee he was in the battle of Monmouth, June 28, 1778, when his chief willfully disobeyed the orders of Washington and by his conduct left the commander-in-chief no alternative but to have him court-martialed. Despite the disgrace of General Lee, Mr. Mercer stood faithfully by him, and when the former was suspended for a year and finally deprived of his commission his aide in sympathy surrendered his own commission and returned to his home in Virginia. But Mercer did not long remain in retirement. Upon his return to his native state he set about recruiting a regiment of horse soldiers, which he equipped at his own expense, and then offered their services to the Continental army. He was commissioned lieutenant-colonel and his regiment was joined to the brigade commanded by Gen. Robert Lawson. In this command Colonel Mercer saw service at Guilford, N. C., as well as in other engagements during the dismal southern campaign. He later joined Lafayette, with whom his regiment remained until the termination of hostilities.

After the war Mr. Mercer returned to Marlborough and began to study law. While studying he came in close relations with one who in later years exerted a remarkable influence over his career. His preceptor was Thomas Jefferson, and at the feet of the founder of democratic principles in America Mr. Mercer learned not only law, but also the true meaning of republicanism as differentiated from that policy of aristocracy which at first shaped affairs in the United States, and throughout his life he continued a faithful disciple of Jefferson. In 1782 Mercer was elected a delegate from Virginia to the Continental Congress, and served in that body until 1785. At this time a new influence came into his life, which was responsible for changing the scene of his activity from the Old Dominion to Maryland. Miss Sophia Sprigg, the daughter of a promi-

nent resident of Anne Arundel county, became Mrs. Mercer, and the couple "set up house" at the home of the bride, Cedar Park on West river.

Mercer was not long in Maryland before he found a loophole through which to effect an entrance into the political circles of the state. He had attained sufficient prominence by a little more than a year's residence in the county to be sent as a delegate to the convention which framed an instrument for the government of the states to supersede the unsuccessful articles of confederation. This was in 1787; Mr. Mercer, however, with other opponents of a centralization of governmental authority, fought bitterly against the proposed constitution. When these opponents found their voice did not prevail and that the majority of the members of the convention ignored their protests, they withdrew from the convention. With the bolters, besides Mr. Mercer, were Luther Martin, of Maryland, and George Mason, of Virginia. Martin, as the attorney-general of Maryland, appeared before the state convention appointed to consider the proposed federal constitution, and in an eloquent speech set forth all the weak points of the instrument. But despite the protests of Martin and Mercer, Maryland, in 1788, ratified the constitution. Although Mercer had opposed the constitution, he appeared as a candidate for the national house of representatives in the first election held under that instrument. In this election, held in January, 1789, Mr. Mercer was not announced as a republican—for the republican party had not then been formed—but came before the voters as an anti-federalist. As was to have been expected, all the successful candidates were supporters of the recently ratified constitution, but Mercer did not make as unfavorable a showing as might have been expected when his action in the constitutional convention is borne in mind.

Three years later, 1792, Mr. Mercer was chosen a member of the state legislature, and shortly afterward he was sent to congress, being named to fill the unexpired term of Representative William Pinkney, resigned. He served in the house of representatives from February 6, 1792, to April 13, 1794. From this latter date up to the beginning of the nineteenth century Mr. Mercer did not occupy official position, but labored faithfully in Maryland in the interests of a reform in the governmental system. The federal party continued in control of the state's affairs until 1801, though for many years every inch of its way was contested. Finally, the republican party succeeded in gaining a foothold in the house of delegates and a large enough representation in the state senate to elect John Francis Mercer as governor, November 9, 1801. Governor Mercer served two terms of one year each, being reëlected in 1802. His administration is noteworthy for radical reforms in the governmental institutions of Maryland. But the chief of these reforms must of necessity lose much of its significance to the reader of today, who has been reared in an atmosphere where the vote of the poor man is supposed, at least, to equal that of the citizen of wealth in the choosing of legislators. The day when only aristocrats were the voters and office-holders and custom-takers are so far removed that in the distance nearly all of the detail is lost. But it was that political organization whose representative—Mercer—was in the executive chamber which first gave to Marylanders real equality.

In 1801 the same general assembly which elected a republican governor passed a bill—originating in the strongly republican house—by which the right to vote was given to "every free white male citizen of this state * * * above twenty-one years of age, having resided twelve months in the county next preceding the election at which he offers

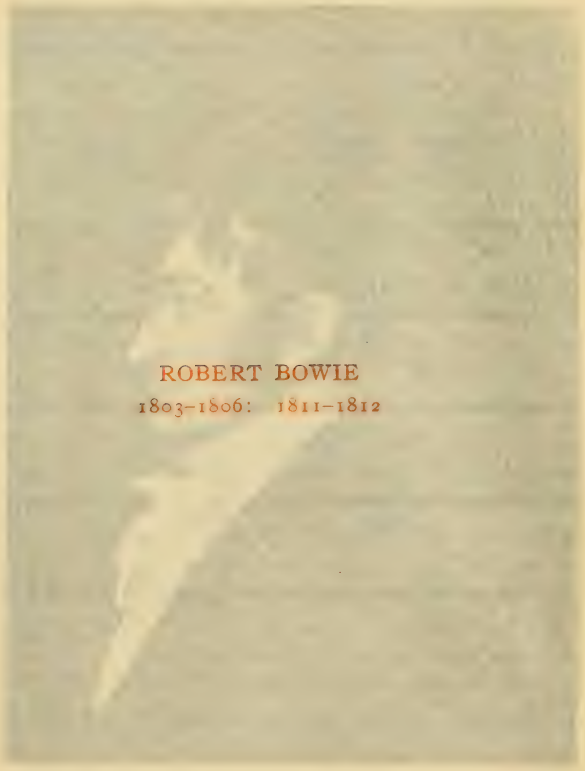
to vote." This law opposed the practice of confining the elective franchise to those citizens who possessed freeholds of at least fifty acres of land. This one attainment of the Mercer administration so completely overshadows all other things that it assumes the aspect of being the one feature of importance.

Governor Mercer was succeeded in 1803 by Robert Bowie, another republican, and returned to his estate, Cedar Park. For some years thereafter he lived in retirement, looking after his personal interests. Subsequently, however, he served on several occasions in the state legislature. When the agitation for a second war with England was in progress, Mr. Mercer sided with the federalist party, inasmuch as he was opposed to the conflict. He framed a petition calling upon congress to use its influence to prevent an outbreak of hostilities and secured thereto many signatures, but the paper never reached the hands for which it had been intended. The ex-governor went to Philadelphia in 1821 to consult with physicians there regarding an affliction from which he was suffering. But the journey proved futile. He died in Philadelphia on August 20, 1821, while under treatment.



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ROBERT HOWIE



ROBERT BOWIE
1803–1806: 1811–1812

XI

ROBERT BOWIE

Certain apologists, performing for a season the duties of historians, have sought to read into the early state history of Maryland naught but what is admirable, patriotic and sublime. While the sentiments which actuated them are undoubtedly noble, their performances have frequently done less to excite favorable regard than would have been the case had they been critical instead of worshipful. It is possible, for instance, for the highly imaginative to see in Maryland's partial opposition to the second war with England only an all-controlling love of peace and concord; but it is more in accord with the facts to remember, when approaching that period of the state's history which parallels the war of 1812–15, that many of the leaders who denounced the conflict did not love peace and concord one-half so much as they did their own pet theories, which they were trying to saddle upon the people. Again, it is possible for the apologist to find certain credulous followers when he explains away the several mob outbreaks at this time by charging them to a foreign and ruffian element; but the Baltimore mob, which gave evidence of the criminal extremes to which uncontrolled patriotism may go, was in truth very representative of a large portion of the population of Maryland in the closing years of the eighteenth century and in the first part of the nineteenth century. These men in their day indulged in public ceremonies, which, if practiced today, would create considerable doubt as to the sanity of the participants. Publicly to burn effigies and portraits of those who had fallen under the people's dis-

pleasure was a common practice, then given all the formality of a state ceremony; and the same men whom some historians seek to make so serious and lofty-purposed went further, and took part in the public interment of the ashes of such effigies and likenesses after they had burned them. This lack of proper restraint is not dwelt upon to disparage the people of Maryland of a century ago, but rather as a means toward understanding fully the actions of certain leaders of that time. It intensifies the light which existing chronicles throw upon the life of the first Governor Bowie, for without the background of excessively enthusiastic partisans and of the general wild delirium of his time Mr. Bowie might be unjustly discounted because of some peculiar traits which he displayed on certain occasions and which were really characteristic of his time.

Robert Bowie, third son of Capt. William and Margaret (Sprigg) Bowie, was born at Mattaponi, near Nottingham, Prince George's county, in March, 1750. He attended successively the schools of Rev. Mr. Eversfield, near his own home, and of Rev. Mr. Cradock, near Baltimore. But in his youth he gave first thought to romance and things romantic, and was daring enough to put his visionary theories into practice early by eloping with the daughter of Gen. James John Mackall, Priscilla, who, when young Bowie discovered her attractions, was not yet fifteen years of age, while her impulsive swain was just past nineteen. With the rashness of youth they married immediately; the union fortunately revealed in later years the unconscious wisdom of the principals. Bowie's father presented him a house and lot in Nottingham and also a farm on the outskirts of the village, and in 1791, when the elder Bowie died, the son inherited the paternal estate of Mattaponi, where he usually spent his summer months.

Bowie was twenty-four years of age when the Freeholders'

convention at Upper Marlboro, in November, 1774, placed him on a committee to carry into effect the resolutions of the Continental congress. On September 12, 1775, he, with certain others of his fellow-countians, was instructed to enroll a company of "minute men," and early in 1776 Mr. Bowie was commissioned first lieutenant of a company of militia organized in Nottingham. He was promoted to a captaincy on June 21, 1776, and accompanied the Maryland forces when they joined Washington in his early campaign near New York. Captain Bowie took part in several of the important battles of the Revolutionary War, and, although he won no great glory, he always displayed good judgment and courage. When a treaty of peace was patched up between England and her former colonies, Mr. Bowie returned to his county and sought fresh excitement in politics. Despite his long absence, he soon won enough support to be sent to the house of delegates. On October 15, 1785, he was elected a member of the lower house of the general assembly, and he was reëlected five times consecutively.

Then there was a break of ten years in Bowie's political service, during which time, however, he filled the post of major of militia and also that of justice of the peace in Prince George's county. When Maryland began to experiment with things democratic, Mr. Bowie was again given a place in the council halls, being in the lower house of the general assembly from 1801 to 1803. During this period Governor Mercer, the first republican state executive, directed the affairs of the commonwealth, and his administration witnessed a breaking away from those old ideas which denied to a man who had not been born in a silk-stocking or fat-pursed family the capacity for thinking or acting upon affairs of government. But the pendulum of public sentiment was not to pause halfway between the extremes of federalism

and democracy. Mercer was not radical enough for the masses who then, for the first time, were feeling the effects of equality theories which they had freely imbibed until they were in a state of intoxication. Mercer was democratic, but he was not radically democratic, and therefore the people clamored for someone who should stand for radicalism and Mr. Bowie seemed the man.

On November 17, 1803, the general assembly cast a majority of its votes in favor of Mr. Bowie as successor to Governor Mercer. At this time he was a member of the general assembly, but on the following day he presented his resignation to the house of delegates that he might assume charge of the gubernatorial office. Governor Bowie was reëlected for a one year term in 1804 and again in 1805, which made his first administration cover the period from the fall of 1803 to the fall of 1806, the full three years for which he was eligible. The first Bowie administration was noteworthy on account of two national events of moment. The one was the reëlection of Thomas Jefferson The other was the beginning of foreign interference with American commerce. While the European nations had been engaged generally in warring with one another, the maritime interests of the United States had grown considerably, until the new nation came to assume a position of no little importance in the commerce of the world. As soon, however, as England and France laid aside their weapons of war long enough to realize that a commercial competitor had arisen, there was born a determination to crush the shipping industry of the United States by whatever means would produce most quickly the desired results. Thus began the depredations of the mother country upon the commerce of her late colonies, and on this hinged the War of 1812–1815, as well as the bitter conflict to the death between the federalists and the republicans. Although the full effect of this

conflict between the two political bodies that came to pose as the "war party" and the "peace party" was not felt until some years after the close of Bowie's first administration, nevertheless the widening of the gap between these two organizations bore fruit during his initial service as governor in a struggle which resulted in the impeachment of Judge Samuel Chase—as strictly partisan a bit of work as the bringing to trial of Andrew Johnson at the close of the Civil War, and fully as undignified a proceeding.

After his retirement in 1807, Governor Bowie was appointed a justice of the peace. The following year he was named as a member of the levy court of his county, and he was a presidential elector in 1809, for Madison. But it was not until the year 1811—the eve of the second war with England—that he once more came into prominence as the state champion of the republican party of Maryland. The federalists were then fighting bitterly against the advocates of war with England, and the federalists, while not in control of the state affairs, were still a considerable factor in Maryland politics. The party was strong enough to defeat Bowie when he was brought forward as a candidate for senatorial elector, but the republicans had a strong hand in the general assembly and succeeded, on November 11, 1811, in again electing him chief magistrate. At this time there were practically only two political divisions in the state and the distance between the two was vast. The federalists were, with few exceptions, against a declaration of hostilities with England. The republican party, almost unanimously, was for war.

In June, 1812, congress declared war, and the news, reaching Annapolis, fired the heart of the "war" executive. The Annapolis Gazette of that date records that "the Governor was so rejoiced when he heard the news that he did not wait for his hat, but proceeded through the streets

bareheaded to the state house, where he congratulated the leaders upon the welcome news." When the governor of the state could show such uncontrolled enthusiasm, it is not to be wondered at that the less cultured people of the state who were of his own political faith should also have been deeply stirred. Throughout Maryland the supporters of Bowie were aroused to a high pitch of excitement. Unfortunately, at this very moment the editor of a Baltimore paper was indiscreet enough to print an article that angered those against whom it was directed. It was a red rag cast before the face of an already maddened bull, and the bull, true to his nature, gored the tormentor. The people of the city turned out and killed a few federalists and beat a few others, and then returned home to gloat over the fact that the nation had actually entered upon a foreign war.

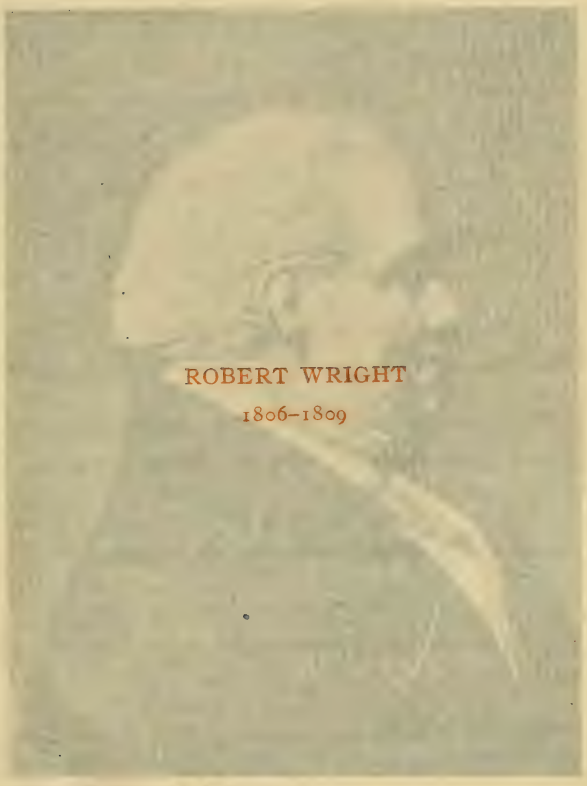
It was this excess of the republicans that did most at that time to take from them their lately acquired power in Maryland affairs. Since the governor was a republican and the members of the Baltimore mob were republicans, the inference was made that the deeds of violence performed were not altogether distasteful to the state's executive. Bowie was requested to apprehend the instigators of the riot, and because he failed the federalists accused him of shielding criminals. Whatever blame was chargeable to Bowie, either for the uprising against the federalists or for the escape of their assailants, he was made to suffer greatly for the affair. The most positive result was the terminating of his political career, for thereafter, although all his energies were concentrated upon a series of endeavors to regain his former hold upon the political machinery of the state, he was not a considerable factor in Maryland. At the close of his term he was succeeded by a federalist, Levin Winder.

From 1812 until his death Mr. Bowie fought to be returned to the executive chair, and in his endeavors he was ably seconded by the unbroken rank of the republican party. In 1813 and again in 1814 he opposed Winder and 1815 and in 1816, he was the republican candidate against Ridgely, federalist, but at all of these elections his followers were unable to count enough ballots to bring him the coveted vindication. In 1817 an effort was made to elect him United States senator, but once more the labors of his followers were futile. He was a man of remarkable determination, as is shown by his unceasing struggle to regain his authority in the state, and he was a man who held unwaveringly the confidence of his fellow-men, as is attested by the continued support of his followers despite repeated defeats. What his tenacity and the hearty support of his friends might have finally accomplished for Bowie must forever remain an unsolved problem, for in the winter of 1817 he was attacked by pneumonia, which resulted in his death on January 8, 1818.

XII

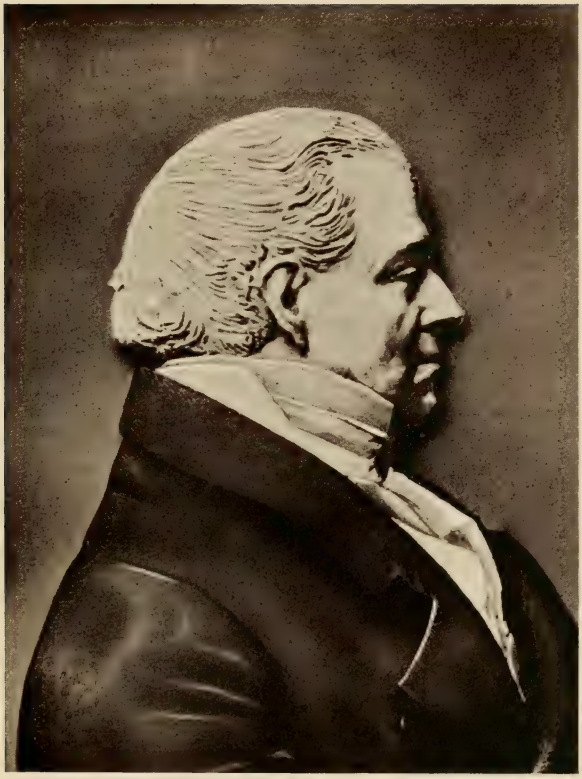
ROBERT WRIGHT

A source of no little bewilderment to the average reader of early national history is the almost endless array of "great" statesmen who then administered the affairs of federal and state governments. Every commonwealth, according to the chroniclers of its early state history, would appear to have contributed an amazingly large quota of masters in the art of statecraft, so that it may seem as if the bulk of genius for statesmanship that has been cultured by American soil was concentrated in the half century beginning about 1765. But this apparent disproportionateness between the ratio of "great" statesmen to the population a hundred or more years ago and today does not really extend beneath the surface of things. The reader who follows history as a pastime rather than as a study must keep fully in mind two conditions which have tended to give undue prominence to the labors of the early participants in public affairs in Maryland and the other sections of the United States. The first of these conditions is the result of a practice of American historians in general, which may be regarded as either a crime or a virtue according to the views of the individual, of stressing unduly all early history and slighting indiscriminately all later history. The second condition which has tended to exaggerate the importance of national and state laborers of early years in American affairs is a natural one. The extent of the nation from north to south was almost as great in those years as it is today, while the borders stretched far to the westward. At the same time there had not been introduced any modes



ROBERT WRIGHT

1806–1809



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of rapid transportation, and, therefore, figuratively speaking, the expanse of the United States was greater a century ago than in 1908, for in the mind of the average early citizen Boston was farther removed from Baltimore than is San Francisco today. In addition to this, the land was sparsely populated, and these two natural circumstances were bound to dilate in the eyes of the masses the importance of any residents in their own neighborhood who attained to even a small degree of prominence in strictly local affairs.

Some readjustment of the standards of measurement is essential before approaching the public career of Governor Wright, who succeeded Robert Bowie, so that the true worth of his services to state and nation can be ascertained. Mr. Wright was, first of all, a man free of shams and one who did not indulge in heroics for the applause of the gallery. He was, at the proper time, as much a cavalier as any of his fellow-citizens, and countenanced the meeting of two men upon a field of honor to engage in shooting at one another's anatomy. He was also, at the proper time, as ready as any of his fellow-citizens to engage in popular discussions of the day, but, not altogether in keeping with the majority of his fellows, he made such debate a battle of arguments and well-thought-out conclusions instead of a word-juggling exhibition with flowers of speech and mock sentiments. He was, nevertheless, both a rhetorician and an orator. In brief Mr. Wright possessed to a very considerable degree the qualities of a statesman, though it were wrong to class him as a "great" statesman both for truth's sake and the fact that the term has been so long abused in connection with those not richly endowed, that it means decidedly less than simply statesman.

Robert Wright was the son of Judge Solomon Wright, whose ancestors for several generations back had been prominent in the affairs of Queen Anne's county and the Eastern

Shore of Maryland. Judge Solomon Wright served his county in the Maryland conventions which met during the period from 1771 to the beginning of the Revolution, and was a member of the first court of appeals of the state, and so continued till his death. Robert Wright was born on November 20, 1752. He received his preparatory training at such schools as his native county afforded, while the finishing touches to his academic education were obtained at Washington College. Subsequently he studied for the bar, and was about to set up as an attorney in Chestertown when the American colonies took up arms against the mother country. He promptly joined Capt. James Kent's company of Queen Anne's "minute men," and took part in a short campaign against Lord Drummond's legion of tories in Virginia. Subsequently he was commissioned second lieutenant in the militia, and later by resolution of congress was made a captain in the Continental army, in which capacity he served at Brandywine, Paoli, and other battlefields. That his military performances were creditable may be taken for granted, since the later career of the man proved his spirit of thinking no duty too small to be performed well; but had he been dependent upon his military exploits alone for fame, his name would have been honored by no greater recognition, perhaps, than that of being printed upon the carefully guarded and seldom read records of the Continental forces. Although Mr. Wright was not a signal success as a military leader, he had coursing through his veins that old spirit of militarism which fostered the duello. On one occasion he had a disagreement with Edward Lloyd, who in after years became prominent as a legislator and was elected as Wright's successor in the gubernatorial office. The disagreement led to a challenge. In the duel which followed, neither principal, fortunately, was fatally wounded, but Mr. Wright for some time thereafter limped in public and in private nursed a bullet hole in his toe.

Governor Wright began his political career early in the eighties. About this time he was married to Miss Sarah De Courcy, the daughter of Col. William De Courcy, a man of prominence in colonial days. From the close of the Revolution up to the first year of the nineteenth century Mr. Wright was several times called upon to serve his county in the general assembly. In accordance with the required qualifications of candidates for the legislature he was presented by his father with 250 acres of land, which remained in his possession throughout his lifetime. This, together with some 1750 additional acres of his landed property was skillfully managed by him, for he was a student of agriculture and a breeder of the thoroughbred horse and other animals.

Governor Wright's services as a member of the legislature were sufficiently meritorious to win for him a seat in the senate of the United States in 1801. It was at the time of the republican upheaval, and Mr. Wright won office as one of the forerunners of the great republican party, which in later years was changed in name if not in principle and became the democratic party of the United States. The term for which he was elected senator was for six years, or from 1801 to 1807. It was, however, while serving in the upper house of the national legislature that he was chosen governor of Maryland. This was on November 10, 1806, and he promptly resigned his seat in the senate.

In accepting the gubernatorial office Wright sketched as comprehensively as possible his stand upon great national issues during the years that he had been in congress. "I have most cordially coöperated," he said, " with a virtuous administration in promoting the best interests of our common country; in repealing such laws as imposed odious and unnecessary taxes on our fellow-citizens; in restoring the national judiciary to the state it had obtained in the time of our Washington; in the purchase of Louisiana, and there-

fore extending to our western brethren the great advantages of the important port of Orleans, and the navigation of the Missouri, with all its tributary streams; in the measures adopted to acquire the Floridas that the American empire might be consolidated and a risk of collisions with a colony of Spain avoided; in the cultivation of the arts of peace with all our foreign relations, with temper and good faith; in an honest neutrality with all the belligerent powers, and in an exact discharge of every duty imposed on us by existing treaties or by the law of nations, and in the laudable attention that has been paid to our native brethren, the savage tribes, in instructing them in the culture of the soil and domestic manufactures, and thereby inducing them to convert their scalping knives into pruning hooks and their tomahawks into implements of husbandry, and both by precepts and examples teaching them to prefer the pacific olive to the bloody laurel."

The affairs of the state executive department were directed by Governor Wright for almost three years. He was elected in November, 1806, and reëlected in 1807 and 1808. During this period the most important task performed by the executive office was the preparation of the state for the conflict with England, which was then threatened. The governor stood firmly by the administration of President Jefferson, and when the founder of democracy declined to become a candidate for a third term Governor Wright, with other followers of the president, sought to influence him to reconsider the matter. During the third year of Governor Wright's administration a judicial post that he had long coveted became vacant, and in the hope of being elected judge he resigned the governorship. Early in May, 1807, James Butcher issued a proclamation as acting governor, in which announcement was made of the resignation of Mr. Wright on May 6, and a session of the legislature was

called for the election of a successor. Governor Wright was entitled to serve until November of the year in which he resigned, but realizing that he would then be ineligible for reëlection, and hoping to obtain the desired judgeship, he let go the bird in hand for the two in the bush. But the latter were not captured then, though many years later Mr. Wright was appointed an associate judge in the district of which his friends had hoped to make him chief judge.

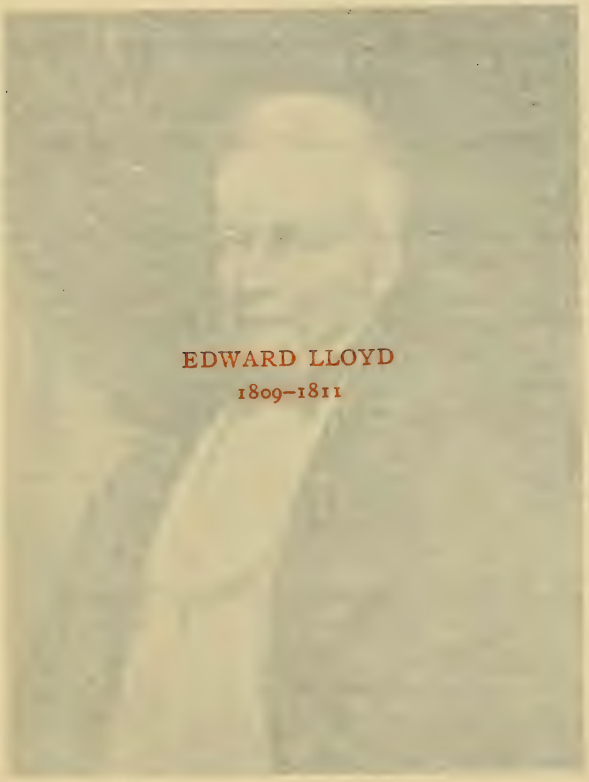
In 1810 Mr. Wright was elected to congress, this time serving in the lower house, where he continued until March 3, 1817. He was again elected in 1820, to the house of representatives and served for one term of two years. It was then that he finally gained an appointment as judge of the district court for the second judicial district of Maryland, which gave him jurisdiction over Cecil, Kent, Queen Anne's and Talbot counties. In this position he continued until his death. Governor Wright was married twice, the second Mrs. Wright having been a Miss Ringgold, of Kent county, by whom he had one child, who was named after Lafayette. Governor Wright died at Blakeford, on September 7, 1826, and was buried at Chestor-on-Wye, a homestead of the De Courcy family from different branches of which came respectively his paternal grandmother and his first wife.

XIII

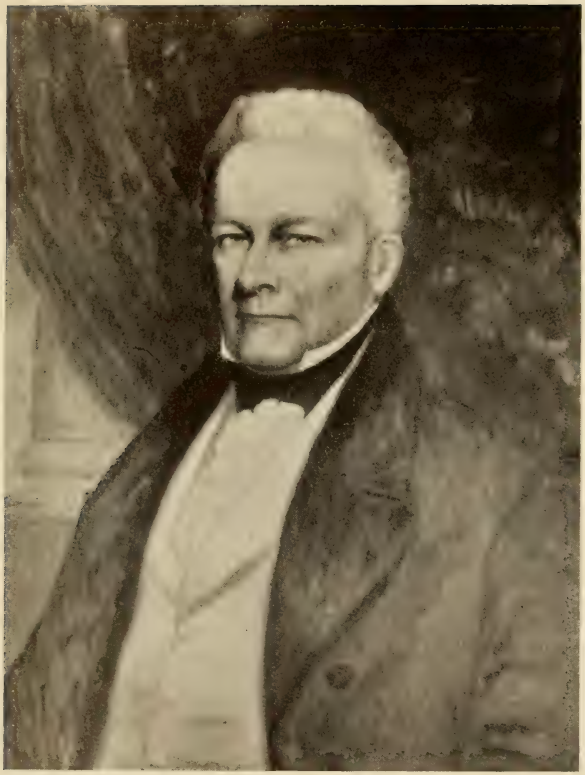
EDWARD LLOYD

For the first thirty years of Maryland's statehood the executive mansion was filled by citizens who had witnessed the American colonies' struggle for independence. These governors had nearly all taken some part in the Revolution. Such men as Johnson, Paca and Lee, had not only followed the rupture between the mother country and the colonies from its beginning, but had also taken part many years before the Revolution, in those contests which presaged serious trouble for England should she persist in ignoring the rights of the colonies. Of course not all of the state governors during these first thirty years had played as large a part in Maryland's last years as a colony as did Johnson, Paca and Lee, but their lives extended well back into colonial times, and they had come to be looked upon by the people as charter members of the commonwealth of Maryland. For this reason when the reader turns from the administration of Robert Wright to that of his successor he feels that he has advanced well into the life of the American Republic, and that Maryland in 1809 was no longer in its infancy as a state. Mr. Lloyd, who followed Governor Wright in office, was not a Revolutionary character, for it was not until well into the struggle that he was born. He is, therefore, the initial member of a new class in the gallery of Maryland governors.

Edward Lloyd—the fifth of that name in Maryland history—was born at Wye House, Talbot county, July 22, 1779. At that time the American Revolution had entered upon its fourth year, while the state government of Mary-



EDWARD LLOYD
1809–1811



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land had been in existence for almost as many years and Governor Johnson was bringing to a close the first administration. Although the ancestry of the average man may not be of as much importance as the genealogically inclined would make believe, the family connection of Governor Lloyd is of considerable moment in a study of his public career, since it was, perhaps, due more to the family that he represented than to himself that he was so early in life afforded an opportunity to enter the public service. The father of the governor had been active in Maryland affairs during the years preceding the War of Independence, and was a member of the body which framed for the state its first constitution. The Lloyds were typical of the old southern landed families which during colonial and early state years exerted almost dictatorial authority in the state. The family in intellectual equipment was far above the average and in addition was possessed of the means which gave it, in the regard of the less fortunate citizens, the right to direct.

Edward Lloyd—the governor—was given such early training as could be provided for the sons of the better class of Marylanders. He went to a private school and studied under tutors until he had acquired sufficient knowledge to begin his public career. The real training of the man, however, was gained not at school nor from books, but by coming in contact with thinking men and in pondering over questions of public import. Mr. Lloyd was practically reared in public life. He was sent as a delegate to the state legislature in 1800. At that time he was just twenty-one years of age, or barely within the borders of the constitutional requirements. He served in the house of delegates from 1800 to 1805, and during that period his labors developed his talents and widened his popularity in his own section. His supporters determined to enlarge the scope of his ser-

vices and he was elected a member of the house of representatives to fill the unexpired term of Joseph Hopper Nicholson, who had resigned upon being appointed judge of the Maryland courts of appeals. Mr. Lloyd's services in the lower house of the national legislature began in 1806 in the ninth congress. He was reëlected a member of the tenth congress, but his congressional career was brought to a close by his election as the successor of Governor Wright, who had resigned the governorship in the hope of being elected chief district judge of Maryland. Governor Wright, gave up his office in May, 1809, and the general assembly, which was convened in extra session to choose a new executive, elected Mr. Lloyd governor on Monday, June 5, 1809. The election was for the unexpired portion of Governor Wright's term—to November, 1809. And Mr. Lloyd was twice reëlected for one year terms in November, 1809, and November, 1810.

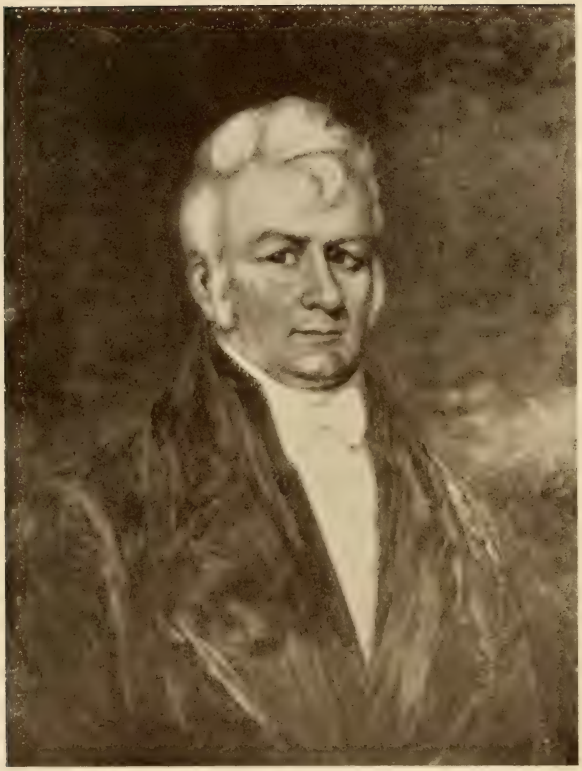
His occupancy of the gubernatorial office witnessed the repeal of the embargo act, which had been passed while Governor Lloyd was a member of congress. During his administration a notable victory was scored for republicanism. This triumph was the granting of the elective franchise to the people regardless of the question whether or not they were possessed of real estate or personal property to a considerable extent. The free ballot act, which repealed all property qualifications, was confirmed by an act of 1809 —the first year in which Mr. Lloyd was executive of the state. During Governor Lloyd's administration the two leading political parties seem to have been fairly well divided in Maryland. The balance of power—although the republicans had for some time controlled the gubernatorial office—did not seem to remain long with either party, and it was around the beginning of the second decade of the nineteenth century that the federalists regained direction

of the state machinery and held it for several years. At almost the same time that Mr. Lloyd, a strong republican, was chosen as the successor of Governor Wright, Levin Winder, who subsequently became the federalists' governor of Maryland, was elected speaker of the house of delegates. This difference in sentiment between the legislative body and the executive department upon the leading question of the day suggests in a measure how far from harmonious were the public affairs of Maryland during the years that Governors Lloyd and Bowie were in office.

At the close of Mr. Lloyd's governorship he was elected a member of the state senate. In that body he heartily supported the administration of President Madison, and was bitter in his opposition of all measures conciliatory toward England. He was a presidential elector in the campaign of 1812, and cast his vote for James Madison for a second term. The republicans, after having been out of power for several years in Maryland, were able to resume control of affairs toward the close of the second decade of the nineteenth century. One of their first moves was the election of Edward Lloyd as a member from Maryland to the United States senate. Mr. Lloyd was elected in 1818 for a term of six years, and at the close of this term, or in 1824, he was reëlected for a like period. This would have carried his services in the senate over from 1819, when his term began, until 1831. In 1826, however, he resigned his seat and retired to private life. But in the same year he was elected to the state senate and served in that body from 1826 to 1831, part of the time as president. He died at Annapolis on June 2, 1834, in the fifty-sixth year of his age. He was, according to the Baltimore Patriot "as remarkable for the munificence of his private hospitality as for his public spirit."

In his home life Governor Lloyd was the typical Mary-

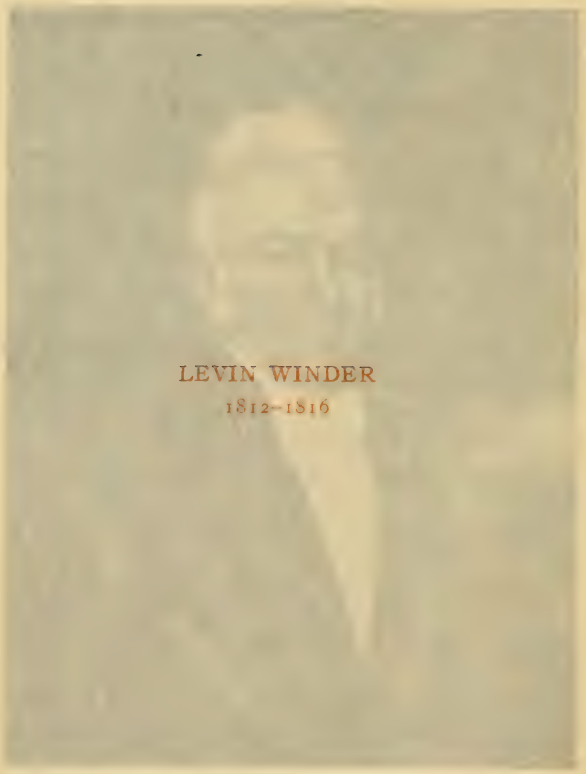
land gentleman. He had been married on November 30, 1797—when just eighteen years of age—to Miss Sally Scott Murray, daughter of an Annapolis physician, and with advancing years the home circle was enlarged, for Mrs. Lloyd bore her husband a large and distinguished family. In his native district Mr. Lloyd was held in high esteem by his neighbors, and he lived, amid luxurious surroundings, the life of a manor lord. And yet of his whole life the most noteworthy feature, perhaps, is that, despite his birth and wealth, he was ever severely democratic. Republicanism in those days threatened to mean a curtailment of the power of the gentleman of the manor, nevertheless this interesting representative of one of Maryland's most celebrated families stood firmly for the republican party and its creed of equal voice in the government to rich and poor, landed and unlanded.



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XIV

LEVIN WINDER



LEVIN WINDER

1812–1816

XIV

LEVIN WINDER

American patriotism—and ignorance—for long decreed that no man ought even to intimate that the constitution of the United States possessed as much as one little flaw. To its authors was generally given credit for having produced a perfect governmental document. With all due respect, however, to fastidious patriots and early American statesmen, it must be confessed that the constitution at first possessed very little of the strength which subsequent events and the American character have given it. Between the lines of the document have been written, by a hundred and some years of national growth, decidedly more than is to be found in the lines themselves. When first the constitution was submitted to the several states, Luther Martin gave all his ability and his energy in a mighty effort to defeat the attempt to have Maryland ratify it. He saw the weak points of the instrument, and warned Marylanders that under its authority the central government would be able to discriminate against the weaker commonwealths in favor of the stronger ones. But the people heeded not, and the constitution was ratified. During the second war with England, however, Maryland suddenly became convinced of the truth of her former attorney-general's words.

The national administration in 1812 was republican; Maryland, however, was in a rather uncertain mind, the republicans and federalists being almost equally strong. The determiner of political control in Maryland was a riot in Baltimore in 1812, in which the republicans, who had taken offense at an anti-war editorial in a federalist paper,

attacked the paper's editor and engaged in battle with some of his federalist friends, killing a few and wounding others. This riot proved a boomerang. The federalists regained control of the state machinery because of disapproval, outside of Baltimore, of the republicans' violence, and the federal government, displeased with the turn of affairs in Maryland, ignored the demands of the state for the general government's assistance in defending American soil against the invasion of America's common enemy. Both the Maryland federalists, who had opposed the war, and the Maryland republicans, who had advocated it, were forced to bear the burden of the nation's war, as far as Maryland was concerned, without any aid from the central government. The historical index to the change of affairs in Maryland which was to result in the national government's unjust treatment of the commonwealth is found in the election of a successor to Gov. Robert Bowie, whose second administration in Maryland extended from 1811 to 1812 and witnessed the beginning of hostilities with England. The election of Mr. Winder, who succeeded Governor Bowie, was the "political disobedience" referred to in the declaration of the federalists of 1812–1814, who, after soliciting in vain the national government's aid when Maryland was subjected to attacks by the English, cried: "Virginia has but to ask and she receives; but Maryland, for her political disobedience, is denied."

Levin Winder was born in Somerset county on September 4, 1757, the son of William and Esther (Gillis) Winder. He was destined by his parents for the legal profession, and immediately after the completion of his academic training began reading law. In common with many candidates for the legal profession, however, the youth, when the Revolutionary War began, forsook the dusty tomes of his legal library and joined the army. He was appointed, January

14, 1776, first lieutenant in the forces under Colonel Smallwood. A little more than a year later, having seen various services, he was promoted to the rank of major and at the end of the conflict held the rank of lieutenant-colonel. With the return to their native sections of the host of lawyers, who for a season had forsaken their profession for the glory of war, the country seemed overrun with attorneys and counselors. It may have been this excess that prompted Mr. Winder to look to agriculture for an occupation in preference to the profession for which he had been trained. At all events, he became a planter on a large scale on his estate near Princess Anne.

The attractions of the plantation were not strong enough, however, to hold his thoughts from the life for which he had been fitted both by natural endowment and training. It was, therefore, not long before Mr. Winder appeared as a candidate for the legislature, and he was several times elected by his county as a member of the general assembly. While Governor Lloyd—who administered state affairs from 1809 to 1811—was in office, representing the choice of the republicans, Mr. Winder, a federalist, was chosen speaker of the house of delegates, thus indicating the close division of political influence in Maryland. Ex-Governor Bowie was reëlected governor in the fall of 1811, and his administration extended through the opening months of the War of 1812–1815. These months were marked by the Baltimore riot, and when the time for the next election of members to the Maryland general assembly arrived the federalists lost no opportunity to impress upon the people the fact that all republicans were ruffians and murderers—witness the Baltimore riots—and therefore not safe people to be intrusted with public offices. This, however, was not the only source of strength to the federal party in Maryland in 1812. The counties and Baltimore were not in agreement

regarding the amount of influence which the latter should be permitted to exert upon the administration of state affairs. The counties had begun to feel some apprehensions lest the city of Baltimore succeed ultimately in gaining complete control of the state machinery, and it was, perhaps, as much because of the countians' distrust of Baltimore as of their displeasure with the republican rioters that the federalist forces turned out in full force in the legislative election of 1812. The house of delegates was naturally more sensitive to popular sentiment than the upper branch of the legislature, and by the elections of 1812 it was made strongly federalist. The senate continued republican, but it did not control sufficient ballots to overcome the strength of the lower house. After the legislature was organized, in the fall of 1812, it balloted for a successor to Governor Bowie. Mr. Winder received 52 votes, as against 29 for the incumbent, and the former was declared elected.

Governor Winder began his administration while the United States was at war with England. He and the party which he represented had been and still were opposed to the conflict. This state of affairs under ordinary circumstances would doubtless have led to a lack of harmony between the federal government and that of the commonwealth, but Mr. Winder's governorship witnessed extraordinary circumstances. The central government had been chagrined at the turn which political affairs had taken in Maryland, and, partly because of curtailed resources and partly because of resentment, it ignored Maryland's claim to be accorded protection from the invasion of a common enemy. The fact remains that Mr. Winder, an anti-war governor, inaugurated during the conflict, rendered herculean services on behalf of a defensive war. When he learned that the national government would not give Maryland the requested aid, he called together the legislature in extra session and

asked that it take such action as would place in his hands the means of securing the defense of the state. The legislature appropriated sufficient funds to defray expenses already incurred and to provide for subsequent military operations. Both Baltimore and Annapolis were, in consequence, garrisoned at the expense of Maryland.

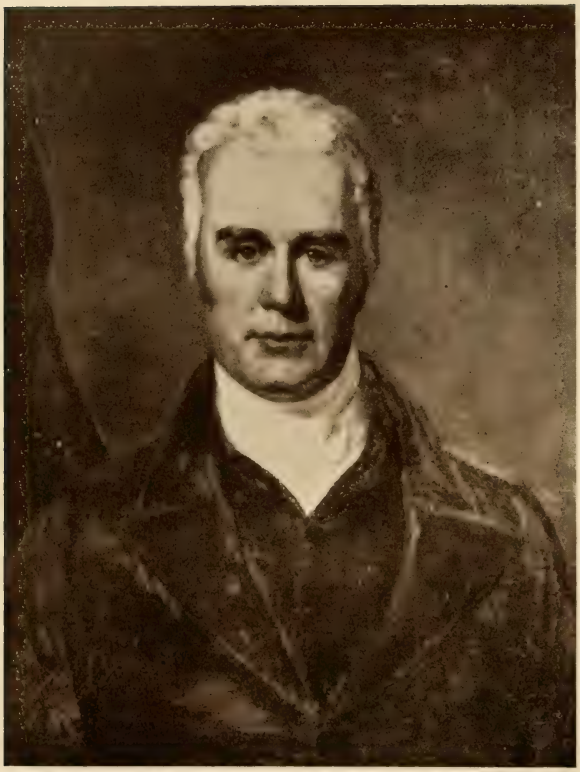
While the governor was struggling with the means at hand to afford Maryland ample protection, the time for another gubernatorial election arrived. There was a contest in the election of the members from Allegany county, and when the vote was taken for governor a number of the legislators, because of what they held to be an unjust ruling on the part of the federalists, refused to vote. The republicans had made repeated attempts to organize the house before the Allegany delegates could be admitted, but their maneuvering was futile, and they were defeated at each fresh move to gain their point. A vote was taken for governor, and Mr. Winder was declared reëlected, despite the protests of his political opponents and many assertions to the effect that his supporters had pursued dishonest methods.

The second year of Governor Winder's administration was marked with the glorious repulsion of the English when they sought to take Baltimore captive. The British had made an invasion of the national capital, and before their advance the Americans fled, leaving the city ripe for the enemy's torch. When the British turned from the burnt national capital toward Baltimore a few faint-hearted citizens suggested capitulation. But the major portion of the Marylanders, who had been judged unworthy by the government of its protection, scornfully put aside the suggestion of doing aught but meeting the approaching enemy half way. The story of this meeting—one of the most inspiring and heroic to be found in the pages of American history—must forever stand as a reproof of the attitude

of the central government, and as the brightest spot in Governor Winder's administration. And he, although he was unconditionally opposed to the conflict, deserves a large share of the glory of Maryland's victory at North Point and Fort McHenry.

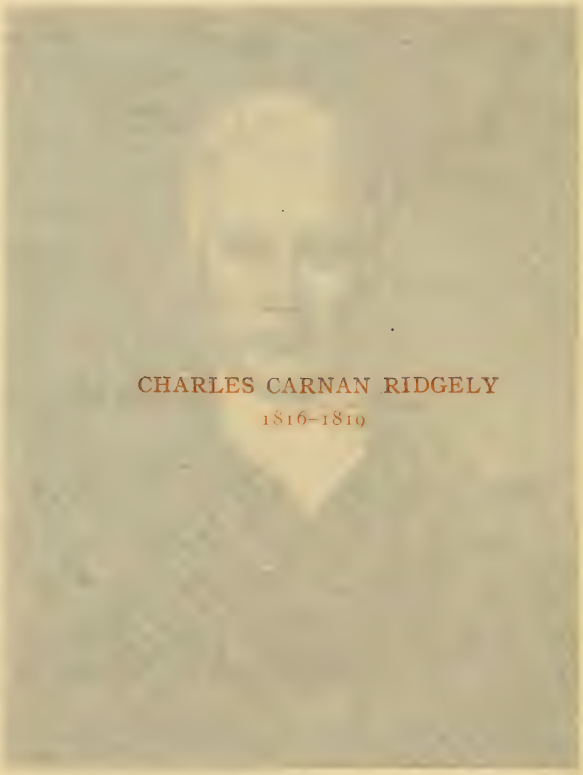
Levin Winder was again reëlected in 1814, receiving 48 votes as against 24 for ex-Governor Bowie. At the conclusion of his third term, in 1815, he retired to his farm. A year later, however, he was elected a member of the state senate. He died on July 1, 1819, leaving a widow who was formerly Miss Mary Sloss, and three children.

Hardly secondary to Winder's claim to fame because of his administration of state affairs are his relations with the Masonic order. Always active in the interests of this influential secret order, he filled the office of grand master of Masons in 1814 and 1815. His name occupies a position of large importance in the story of this organization in America, and much of its early success was the result of his faithful and untiring labors in its behalf.



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CHARLES CARNAN RIDDLEY



CHARLES CARNAN RIDGELY

1816–1819

XV

CHARLES CARNAN RIDGELY

Viewed retrospectively, the second war with England seems to have been a necessary preliminary to the United States' growth into a great nation. The Revolution won America's freedom, but the federation of states to which it gave birth was not one to inspire reverence at home, much less abroad. The world powers were not disposed to accept as a full-fledged nation the lately freed colonies; it required some feat of arms to convince the European governments that the Americans were a powerful people; and this second war with England afforded the opportunity for the feat. After the conflict was over, the individual states were in a much better position to go ahead with internal improvements, and thus it is that there dates from the close of the war of 1812-15 a period of considerable progress in most of the American commonwealths. But the fact remains that the administration in Maryland which witnessed the people's turning from a successful war to the matter of internal improvement was federalistic in complexion, and the federalists had been passionate opponents of the war. Owing to a strictly local turn of affairs in Maryland, which brought the republicans into disrepute because of their connection with the Baltimore riot, the federalist party was given control of the state machinery during the war by the administration of Governor Winder, and also during the first period of recuperation and internal improvement by the administration of Governor Ridgely.

Charles Carnan Ridgely had not always been known by that name. In his early youth he was called Charles Ridgely

Carnan, being the son of John and Acsah (Ridgely) Carnan. He was born in Baltimore county on December 6, 1760, and grew up to manhood under the name of Carnan. The death of his father while the boy was still in infancy put upon his mother's shoulders the responsibility of providing for his education. Although he learned the necessity of shifting much for himself, as is usual with fatherless boys, he received a fair education, and the loss of his father was partly made up by the affection entertained for the lad by his uncle, Captain Charles Ridgely. Captain Ridgely was a man of large means, and his wealth was freely employed in later years for the political advancement of his nephew. While still known by the name of Charles Carnan, the governor had been married, October 17, 1782, to Miss Priscilla Dorsey, of Howard county, and the young couple spent much time under the roof of Captain Ridgely. Shortly after Carnan had attained his majority he made his appearance in the political world. He served as one of his county's representatives in the lower house of the legislature from 1790 to 1795, and also rounded out five years in the state senate (1796–1800). He took some interest in military affairs—being influenced, perhaps, by his uncle, who knew and loved the smell of powder—and by gradual promotion reached, in 1794, the rank of brigadier-general of the Eleventh Maryland Brigade.

Prior to this, arrangements had been made whereby such fame as might be won by the son of John Carnan should rebound to the glory of the Ridgely family. Captain Charles Ridgely was childless, but he was not content that his family name should fall into disuse as soon as he made his exit from this world. He, therefore, offered to name his nephew as his chief heir provided the promising relative would adopt his name also. The beautiful Ridgely estate of Hampton and a large part of the fortune which Captain Ridgely had acquired

were to be bequeathed to Mr. Carnan upon the condition that henceforth he be known as Ridgely. The condition was accepted, and upon the death of his uncle, in 1790, Mr. Carnan became, by special act of the legislature, Charles Carnan Ridgely, and thus he is known to history. An interesting feature of the relationship of Captain Ridgely and his nephew is the additional tie between them which resulted from their marriages. The master of Hampton was wedded to Miss Rebecca Dorsey; the governor chose for his wife Miss Priscilla Dorsey, sister to Rebecca, and thus he became the brother-in-law of his uncle. Mr. Ridgely's political activity prior to the time when he was elected governor had been confined to the legislative halls of the state and the local councils of Baltimore county. He had been active in political affairs as a federalist; and, as a large landowner and planter, he had been a strong advocate of internal improvement and the construction of avenues for transportation; but his public services were usually in offices of limited responsibility. His nomination for the gubernatorial office was his first appearance as more than a strictly local politician upon the political stage of Maryland.

Although the federalists had felt some little uneasiness before the meeting of the legislature, early in December, 1815, lest by some trick the republicans should gain control of the executive office, there were no developments to justify such fears. The election for governor was close, but the federalists had a small majority and elected Mr. Ridgely over ex-governor Bowie, the republicans' nominee. Governor Ridgely's years in office were, in a measure, witnesses of an awakening of Maryland and other states to a realization of the Union's larger possibilities. From the close of the war the states on the Atlantic seacoast began to devote their energies to the development of their resources to a much larger degree than they had done theretofore. The subject

of internal improvement was not a new one, but now the American states found themselves better prepared to give their undivided attention to the needs of their respective sections. The people—freed for a time from the danger of further molestation by foreign countries—came to appreciate the fact that they were capable of becoming much more than merely a series of independent states joined into one federation; they recognized the fact that the government which the several commonwealths formed might assume a position of importance in the family of great nations.

Soon after Mr. Ridgely's induction into the gubernatorial office he suggested to the legislature that the central government be called upon to reimburse Maryland for the expense to which she had been put during the war of 1812–15 by reason of the national administration's failure to provide adequate protection to the property of Marylanders. The legislature accordingly authorized the governor to appoint someone to treat with the federal government regarding the state's claims, and Congressman Robert H. Goldsborough, who was commissioned to perform this task, devoted much of his time endeavoring to obtain for Maryland a settlement. Though his efforts were not altogether successful, nevertheless the state did receive from the national treasury at least a part of the amount which she had spent during the war.

During Governor Ridgely's administration the state turned over to the national government two forts—Fort McHenry, which had played an important part in the late conflict, and Fort Washington. About this time was brought up the question of readjusting the legislative divisions of the state, so that every section would have an equitable representation in the general assembly. This matter of disproportionate representation, although it was somewhat

warmly discussed during Governor Ridgely's administration, was not finally settled until after he had relinquished the gubernatorial office. Ridgely was reëlected governor in 1816 and again in 1817, thus giving him the full three years in office that were permitted by the constitution. Politically the state remained unsettled throughout this period, and it was a difficult task for the federalists to hold sufficient votes in the legislature to continue to fill the executive mansion. The feature which favored them was the law by which state senators were elected for five years, thus requiring a very considerable lapse of time before the people could change the political complexion of the upper house. In 1818, Governor Ridgely was succeeded by another federalist, Charles Goldsborough.

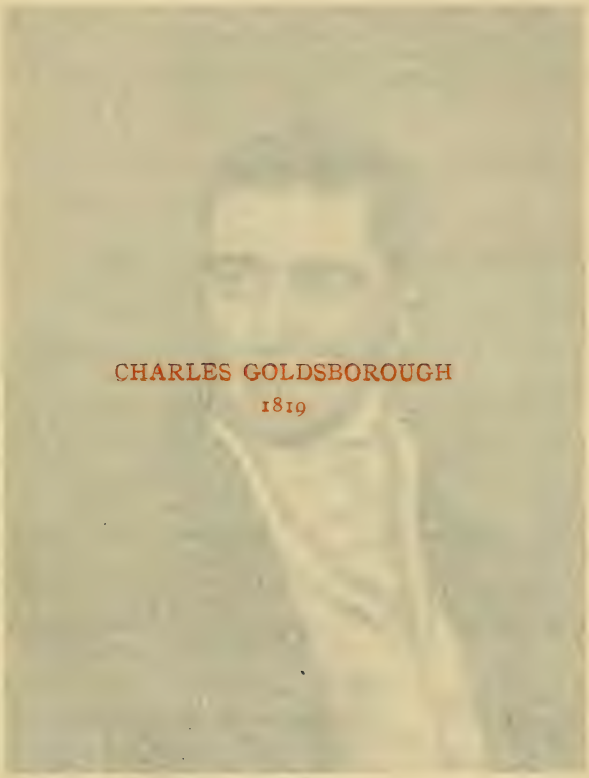
At the close of his administration Mr. Ridgely retired to Hampton, where he devoted himself to the task of looking after his property. At home he represented the typical aristocrat of his day. He had the fortune that enabled him to live like a prince, and he also had the inclination. Hampton was cultivated by hundreds of slaves of whom Mr. Ridgely was absolute master; although the governor by his will manumitted these serfs. Some idea of the extent of his plantation and the manner of its cultivation may be obtained from the fact that when, on July 17, 1829, Charles Carnan Ridgely died, there were freed more than 400 negoes who had been his personal property.

XVI

CHARLES GOLDSBOROUGH

By grace of fate, rather than by the wish of the people, the federal party was permitted to continue in control of Maryland's affairs some time after it had fallen under the disapprobation of the voters elsewhere in America. An unjust election law, which may have been good enough in the beginning but became evil with advancing years, favored the federal party in retaining its power in Maryland, despite the fact that its opponents were in the majority. There were in Maryland at this time twelve counties that were federal in political complexion. These counties boasted a total population of 131,165 white inhabitants, and paid the state upon direct tax $68,404. The democratic portion of the state comprised seven counties which supported a free white population of 140,209 and contributed in taxes the sum of $83,222. And yet, the twelve counties which contributed 45.1 per cent of the state taxes and contained 48.3 per cent of the free white inhabitants were given, under the unjust scale of representation, 60 per cent of the total membership in the lower house of the general assembly, while every attempt to equalize the representation of the several counties according to population was fought tooth and nail by the federalists.

Instead of pursuing a peaceable policy, and thus neutralizing in part the antagonism which existed against it, the leaders carried the party arrogantly to the place where it was to meet destruction. Even Mr. Goldsborough, who was called upon to succeed Mr. Ridgely in the executive office, did not fully appreciate the needs of his peculiar



CHARLES GOLDSBOROUGH
1819



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situation, and performed his duties in much the same spirit that he had pursued in the national legislature. In consequence there came not only concerted opposition to the prevailing method of allotting representation in the general assembly, but what meant even greater injury to the federal party—a demand that the governor of Maryland henceforth be elected by popular vote instead of by the legislature. To give the people—the common people—a direct voice in the election of governor meant certain death to the federalist party, and Mr. Goldsborough's brief administration as governor was responsible for the first concerted demand from the democrats that the state executive be chosen by the people upon their direct vote.

Charles Goldsborough was born at Hunting Creek on July 15, 1760. His early years were such as to incline him toward the federal party when that body should become opposed to republicanism. His father, Charles Goldsborough, Sr., and his mother, who before her marriage had been Miss Anna Maria Tilghman, were both of gentle birth, and their son was bred in an atmosphere which nourished the belief that the landed families—among them the Goldsboroughs—were very superior to the general run of mankind, and that a man who had not been born in a family of high social position must necessarily be void of those qualities which work for wise self-government. After Goldsborough had received his preparatory schooling in the immediate neighborhood, he entered the University of Pennsylvania, from which, in 1784, he received the degree of bachelor of arts. Three years later the master's degree was conferred upon him. On September 22, 1793, he married Miss Elizabeth Goldsborough of Myrtle Grove, Talbot county. His wife was the daughter of Judge Robert and Mary Emerson (Trippe) Goldsborough. She died, leaving two daughters, and her widower married on May 22, 1804, Miss Sarah Yerbury Goldsborough of Horn's Point.

Up to the time of his second marriage, Governor Goldsborough was in a formative stage politically. He was acquiring the sentiments and the prejudices which in later days became the stock in trade of the federal party. Active in political affairs generally, he, nevertheless, did not win prominence until later years. He had reached the age of forty when he became his party's candidate for congress. The federal party at that time was in an uncertain state in Maryland. The republicans had wrested control of the executive mansion, and they were accomplishing large results throughout the state. In Mr. Goldsborough's home district, however, the federalists had a stronghold, and their candidate for the lower house of the national legislature was elected.

Mr. Goldsborough began his congressional career on December 2, 1805, and served his district without interruption thereafter until March 3, 1817. During these years the bitter opposition of the federalists to the republicans—or democrats—developed, and Congressman Goldsborough, as a champion of his party, was in the thick of the warfare. His terms in the lower house of congress witnessed the beginning of the battle between the war party and the anti-war party; they witnessed the second conflict with England, and they witnessed the closing days of the federal party, when that organization had lost its control in most states of the Union and was on the decline in Maryland also.

As was to be expected, in course of years Mr. Goldsborough cultivated a spirit of combativeness, which was necessary in carrying on the struggle for the sustaining of his party. But this training, while advantageous to one in the legislative hall, was not a valuable asset to the man called upon by a somewhat discredited party to become its representative in the executive mansion at Annapolis. After the completion of Governor Ridgely's administration,

the federalists in the general assembly elected Charles Goldsborough as his successor. Early in his governorship a bill was presented in the legislature to increase the representation of Baltimore in the house of delegates from two members to four. By the manner of its opposition to this proposition the federal party made a serious blunder. Later there came a suggestion to confer the franchise upon Jews, and again the federalists through a false conception of self-preservation blundered into opposing the measure. This shortsightedness of the federalistic leaders during Mr. Goldsborough's administration was such as must work to the injury of the party's position in the state. One humane accomplishment, however, stands to the credit of the legislature during Governor Goldsborough's term in office, and that is the repeal of the law which countenanced imprisonment for debt.

It is possible that Governor Goldsborough and his advisers had hoped to hold on to the gubernatorial office because of the federalist complexion of the state senate. By the generally arrogant conduct of the federal party during 1818 and 1819, however, the people had become sufficiently dissatisfied to rise in their might in the fall of 1819 to destroy completely the power of federalism in Maryland. The election took place on October 4 and was marked by excitement and bitterness. Each party accused the other of dishonesty and bribery; and judging from the evidence, the truth of the whole affair doubtless is that both federalists and republicans bribed and received bribes, repeated and harbored repeaters, lied and sustained liars—in other words, that they set a very poor example, as far as pure politics are concerned, for their descendants. And, on December 16, 1819, when the general assembly met in joint session and began to transact its official business, it was found that the republicans had a majority of the members and Governor

Goldsborough's public services were brought to a close, Samuel Sprigg being elected his successor. Upon his retirement from the executive mansion Mr. Goldsborough returned to his Eastern Shore plantation, where he passed the remaining years of his life His death occurred on December 13, 1834, at Shoal Creek, near Cambridge.



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XVII

SAMUEL SPRIGG



SAMUEL SPRIGG
1819–1822

XVII

SAMUEL SPRIGG

In 1819 the Maryland republicans, who had been more or less in retirement after the beginning of the second war with England, succeeded in regaining control of the state government. No sooner had the election of a republican governor been announced, than the federal leaders and the newspapers supporting the federal party devoted much time to listing all the evils that would result from the republican victory. The republicans, in a measure, exceeded the most direful predictions of their opponents; for from one end of the state to the other federalist office-holders were removed to make way for republicans. This liberality in patronage was almost sure to lead to a reaction against the party lately come into power—but it was not quite sure. Truth is, that the republicans had chosen as governor—and therefore, in a way, the distributer of the party's patronage—a man who was exceptionally well fitted for the peculiar and exacting position. Most men would have given offense; would have caused fresh wounds or paved the way for their party's later defeat. But Mr. Sprigg, strict partisan that he was, managed to be conciliatory in the administration of state affairs; he bound up the old wounds which had long kept the people restless, and prepared the way for his party to make more secure its position in the commonwealth.

Samuel Sprigg was probably born in Prince George's county, although authentic data concerning his early years are not plentiful. His father, Joseph Sprigg, was several times married. His first wife, whom he married in 1760,

was Mrs. Hannah Lee Bowie. He subsequently married a second time, and it is possible he took to himself also a third wife; of either the second or third marriage came Samuel, who was probably the son of Margaret Elzey (Weems) Sprigg. The boy was but one in a large family, for each of the wives of Mr. Sprigg had brought to him as dower a family of children, and therefore it is not strange that his advent was regarded as a somewhat commonplace occurrence. As a consequence, it is necessary to speculate as to the date of his birth; but it probably occurred 1782–83. The youth of Mr. Sprigg is also veiled in obscurity, and it is not known how much opportunity was given him for acquiring an education. The elder Mr. Sprigg died in 1800, and his death must have disrupted the family circle, for Samuel was adopted by his uncle, Mr. Osborn Sprigg, from whom he inherited the Prince George's county estate of Northampton.

Samuel Sprigg reached maturity about the time when the federal party was waging its bitterest warfare upon the republicans. This was a struggle between the believers in aristocracy and the advocates of democracy, and in a contest of this kind it is no wonder that Mr. Sprigg should have cast his lot with the republicans. He was well-born, and the federal party would doubtless have taken him up gladly, but it would scarcely have been willing to advance him to high position when it had so many supporters, better-known than he, who were anxious to serve the state with glory to themselves. The republican party, however, was hungry for young men who could be roused to passion; for its doctrines sounded best when expounded in passion; it needed able men from the mass of the people, for its creed was based upon democracy; and it needed men of daring, for those who took part in the strife could hope for no success unless they fought courageously. Mr. Sprigg possessed all of these requirements. He was young, with the world all

before him. He was of the people and had his little family to provide for, having been married on January 1, 1811, to Miss Violetta Lansdale, daughter of Thomas Lancaster and Cornelia (Von Horne) Landsale by whom he had two children.

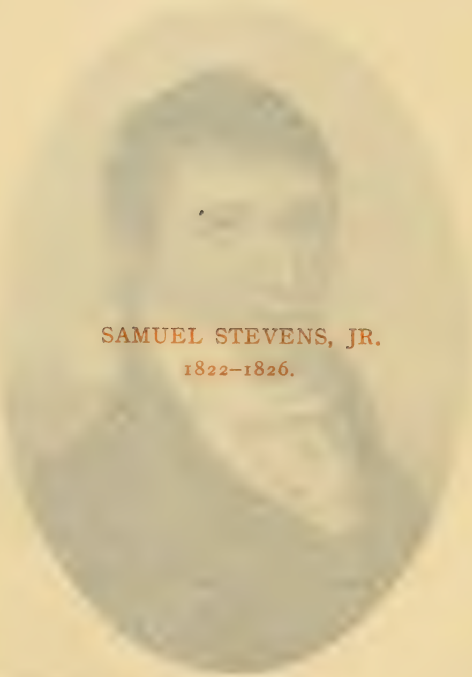
Mr. Sprigg was elected governor by the general assembly on December 13, 1819, his opponent being Charles Goldsborough, who was then serving as governor of the state. The fact that up to this time he had won no considerable fame is not a matter for surprise. He not only was young when chosen to the gubernatorial office, but up to the time of his election his party had been very much in forced retirement throughout the state. One phase of the administration that was thus inaugurated has already been hinted at in the reference to the dismissal of officeholders who were federalists and the putting into their places of republicans. Although this change did not cause the discontent that might have been anticipated from it, there were other features to Governor Sprigg's administration that aroused feelings of much bitterness. For instance, the republican agitation for a revision of the constitution—looking to an increase of Baltimore's representation in the legislature—and also that for the election of state executives by direct vote of the people were pointed out by the federalists as very dangerous proposals, and their call to the counties to protect themselves against the threatened usurpation of the cities succeeded in reducing the republican majority in the next legislature, although the general assembly was sufficiently republican to reëlect Mr. Sprigg that year, 1820, and in 1821 he was chosen governor for a third term. Both of these movements—first, for giving Baltimore a more proportionate representation in the legislature and, second, for electing governors by popular vote —were efforts to bring about a more republican form of government; and although both were then defeated, they paved the way for a later victory.

In the sphere of industry the administration of Mr. Sprigg was also somewhat notable. Much attention was given in the first quarter of the nineteenth century to the channels through which development was to be carried to the interior. This embraced the construction of roadways and the digging of canals; both having as their object the shortening of distance between commercial cities or between cities and agricultural sections for the expansion of commerce. Under the governorship of Mr. Sprigg the state gave financial support to the projection of the Washington Turnpike Company, and the enterprise that had been started under the Potomac Company was given new life by transferring the rights to a new concern. A joint commission was appointed by Maryland and Virginia to investigate the manner in which the Potomac Company had fulfilled its promises to these commonwealths; and upon the recommendation of this commission the Potomac Company's charter was cancelled, while the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal was the outcome of the transfer of the Potomac Company's privileges to a new concern. Even after the close of his administration, Mr. Sprigg continued a hearty advocate of all measures which had as their object internal improvements in Maryland, although he never again entered public office. He served as president of the canal board and labored faithfully for the construction of the waterway that was to mean so much to the commercial prosperity of the state. Governor Sprigg died April 21, 1855, at an advanced age. His body was interred in St. Barnebas churchyard, but later (1865) was removed to Oak Hill Cemetery, Georgetown.



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SAMUEL STEVENS, JR.



SAMUEL STEVENS, JR.
1822–1826.

XVIII

SAMUEL STEVENS, JR.

An impetuous French youth of noble birth, whose blood ran hot with a love of liberty, fled from his native land in 1777 to join the humble forces then fighting for freedom in the American colonies. Almost half a century later that same Frenchman, still dearly loving the cause of liberty, revisited the land for whose freedom he had so valiantly striven. There could have been no more fitting ceremony upon the occasion of this second visit than that the shackles which held the last religious bondman in the state of Maryland should be broken. But not as a tribute to Lafayette was the political embargo against the Jews in Maryland raised; the concurrence of the two events was accidental. The coincident is not uninteresting, however, in that it shows how partial was the liberty afforded at the close of the Revolution, since religious discrimination in the Old Line state was only destroyed half a century later. The war for independence had been completely forgotten by this time; how completely is shown by a little anecdote related of a state official, who received Lafayette on behalf of Maryland. The Marylander was much confused, according to report, and, after assuring the distinguished Frenchman of the state's welcome and wishing him a pleasant sojourn in the new world, he asked, by way of entering upon less formal conversation: "General, is this your first visit to America?"

Samuel Stevens, Jr., in whose administration occurred the Lafayette visit and the enfranchisement of the Jews, was born in Talbot county, 1778, the son of John Stevens, a large landowner. Young Stevens attended the school

of Rev. John Bowie, but did not receive a college education, due to the fact that his uncle, who became his guardian upon the death of his father, was opposed to sending him to an institute of higher learning. After the close of his school days, Mr. Stevens engaged in business for a short time in Philadelphia, but upon attaining his majority returned to his Eastern Shore home. Soon after reaching manhood, he became an active worker in the democratic party, and for a number of years, with an occasional break now and again, he represented his county in the lower branch of the legislature. He was married on June 2, 1804, to Miss Eliza May, of Chester county, Pennsylvania, and within a few years thereafter he made his initial appearance in the general assembly. Mr. Stevens was first elected a delegate from Talbot county in 1807. He was repeatedly reëlected to the same office, and took part in the deliberations of the house in the sessions of 1808, 1809, 1811, 1813, 1817, 1819 and 1820. In 1819 the Maryland democrats won a signal victory, and Mr. Sprigg was made governor. The hold of the democrats at the close of Governor Sprigg's administration was more secure than it had ever before been in the state, and so another representative democrat, Mr. Stevens, was chosen as his successor.

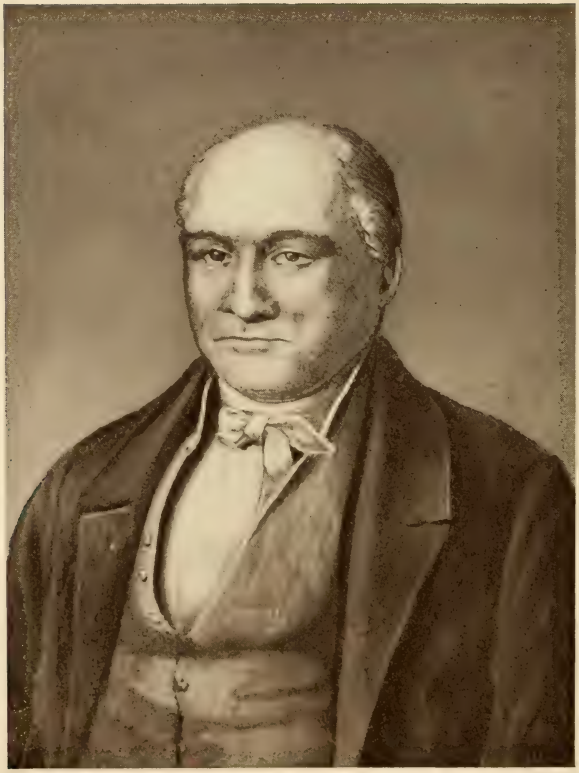
By the nomination and election of Mr. Stevens more could be done to arouse the masses throughout the state and prompt them to join the democratic ranks than by the selection of a more radical democrat to the executive mansion; and so Mr. Stevens was honored with the nomination. He was elected for one year in 1822, and was reëlected in 1823 and 1824. Early in his administration, the report of a commission which had been appointed during the term of Governor Sprigg to report upon the Potomac Company was completed and submitted to the legislature. The investigation had shown that the Potomac Company had

not made any noticeable progress in the construction of the canal which it had undertaken to build with the state's help; and as a consequence the company's charter was transferred to other interests and the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company was organized. Although there was opposition in Maryland to the canal at first, because the artificial waterway did not promise to benefit Baltimore, in time the source of this opposing attitude was removed, and the legislatures of Maryland, Virginia and Pennsylvania took favorable action upon the proposition to build "a waterway from the tidewater of the Potomac, in the District of Columbia, to Cumberland or the mouth of Savage Creek, and thence across the Alleghany Mountains to some convenient point of navigation on the waters of the Ohio or its tributary streams."

The most notable accomplishment of Governor Stevens' administration, however, from the standpoint of politics was the enfranchisement of the Jews. There had been made prior to this time many attempts to give the Jew the same right to vote in Maryland that was enjoyed by citizens of other faiths. These attempts, however, had invariably met with bitter antagonism. The greatest opposition to the proposal came from the counties, which somewhat illogically opposed everything that would give Baltimore a larger voice in the direction of state affairs, and every increase in population was regarded as a threat of harm from this direction. The Jew, however, with his characteristic tenacity, continued to appeal to the state's sense of justice as to whether or not he should be forever barred from rights which were granted to every other man. A bill to remove the disqualification from the Jew had actually passed the legislature in 1822, but before it could become a law it was necessary that it be approved by a subsequent legislature. At the session of 1823 the members of the

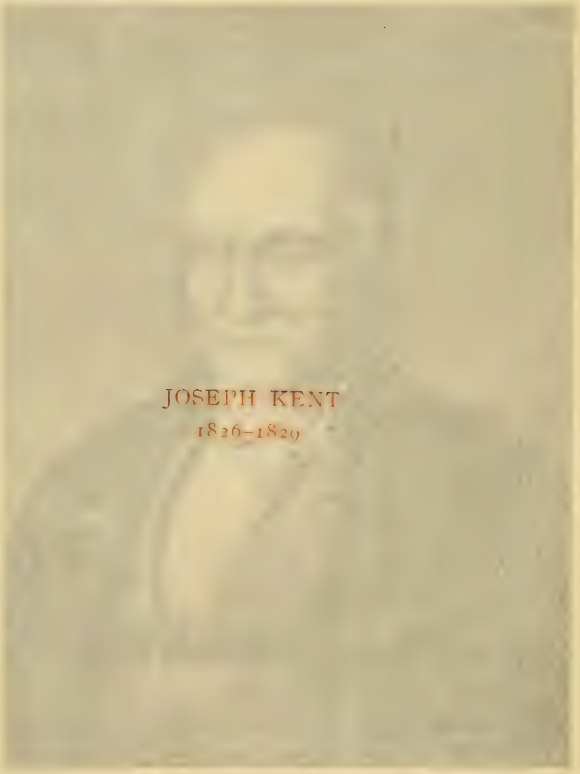
general assembly from the counties had been too strongly impressed with the countians' disfavor of the measure to dare approve it, and they therefore refused to vote for the bill. In the next session, however, that of 1824, the question was again brought up, as it had been in many previous sessions, and was finally passed, February 26, 1825.

The administration of Mr. Stevens was brought to a close in 1825, after he had served the full three years permitted by the constitution. He was succeeded by Joseph Kent. Mr. Stevens continued active in the cause of Maryland democracy after his retirement and throughout the remaining days of his long life. He never again, however, came prominently in the public eye, and except for his governorship of three years his life was an uneventful one. He died at his home near Trappe, Maryland, in 1860, at the advanced age of eighty-one.



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JOSEPH KENT



JOSEPH KENT
1826–1829

XIX

JOSEPH KENT

What is known in politics as a mugwump was once aptly defined as a human ferryboat, traveling from side to side, but never remaining long at any mooring. During the first years of the American republic there were lacking in the political world such qualities as are essential to the cultivation of men of this class, but in the years that witnessed the great disintegration of American political parties incident to the demise of the federal party and the formation of new organizations, certain inducements were presented to the shrewd honor-seeker to become a mugwump. There were lightning changes in the political complexion of many sections, and he who could anticipate these changes might prepare for himself a future berth with a party yet unborn while occupying an office under the organization to which at the time he acknowledged allegiance. And it must be confessed that in Maryland there was being developed a very fine specimen of mugwump, who was in time to be honored with the office of governor—Dr. Joseph Kent. His political sentiment was acrobatic and took many a turn, but it always landed its owner upon his feet, and usually in office, and yet, by the feats which Mr. Kent performed, Mr. Kent was not only the gainer, but his native state was each time made richer. Had he lacked the ability to read the future, had he resisted the temptation to be guided by his reading, Maryland would have lost much more than Mr. Kent ever gained.

Joseph Kent, the son of Daniel Kent, was born in Calvert county January 14, 1779. He was afforded the best oppor-

tunity in early youth to obtain a thorough education, and by the time he had reached the age of twenty was able to secure a license to practice medicine. This was in May, 1799. He then formed a connection with a Dr. Parran, of Lower Marlboro. The partnership lasted only for two years, and in September, 1801, Dr. Kent began to practice on his own account. Perhaps because the medical profession was not sufficiently remunerative or perhaps because the neighbors were too healthy to demand much of Dr. Kent's time—possibly because of both—the future governor determined to change the scene of his activity and at the same time take up farming. He moved to Blandersburg in 1807, where he was sometimes physician and sometimes farmer. He entered the service of the state government as surgeon's mate and rose steadily, becoming surgeon, major, lieutenant-colonel and finally colonel of cavalry.

His versatility must have impressed Dr. Kent himself in early years, and it was therefore but natural that he should soon become convinced that his peculiar qualities might prove of more worth in politics than in either agriculture or medicine. At all events, Dr. Kent became a candidate for office in the first year of the second decade of the nineteenth century, and as a federalist was elected a member of the lower branch of congress. At the expiration of his term he was reëlected. His service covered the period from November, 1811, to March, 1815. During this period the great evil in the eyes of federalism was the threatened second war with England, and Congressman Kent was a federalist. But when the time came to vote for war or against war, Dr. Kent, on June 18, 1812, joined the republicans with a vote for war. As a prospective mugwump he acted with great judgment, for it was apparent that the time must soon come when the federal party in Maryland should go into decline. When the time for a presidential election

came around, in 1816, Dr. Kent appeared as a candidate for elector on the republican ticket, and in the electoral college of which he became a member he cast his vote for James Monroe for president. He was thus by this time a confirmed republican, or latter-day democrat. It was not long before Dr. Kent, as a democratic leader in his section, was being thought of and talked of as a fit man to send to congress. The successful termination of the war of 1812–15 had put a quietus upon the federal party generally, though in Maryland it held on for several years after the close of the conflict. Ex-Congressman Kent, however, appeared as a congressional candidate at the proper time, when, in 1819, the final retirement of the federal party was taking place. He was elected a member of the 17th, 18th and 19th congresses serving from 1821 to 1826.

While still representing Maryland in the lower house of the national legislature Mr. Kent was chosen governor of the state to succeed Samuel Stevens, Jr., and he resigned his seat as a congressman in the early part of 1826 and took up the direction of affairs in the gubernatorial office. Many important though not momentous pieces of legislation were either endorsed or else suggested by Mr. Kent during the three years he was governor. He advocated a change in the election law by which president and vice-president of the United States were chosen. He suggested that the Maryland legislature dispose of its holdings of United States 3 per cent stock and put the proceeds in a sinking fund. He impressed upon the national government the desirability of Maryland securing her share of the public lands to be devoted to educational development. But the feature of his administration that stands out in greatest relief against the minor events is the establishment of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. Governor Kent's predecessors in office, as well as he himself, had been concerned with the building of

a canal which should connect Washington with the waters of the Ohio river. Since this canal could offer no special commercial advantage to Baltimore the people of the city had from the first been opposed to it unless a scheme was devised whereby the canal could be continued to Baltimore. This led to the suggestion that a connecting link be built between Georgetown—the Washington terminus of the proposed Chesapeake and Ohio canal—and Baltimore. Upon investigation such a connecting canal was found to be impracticable.

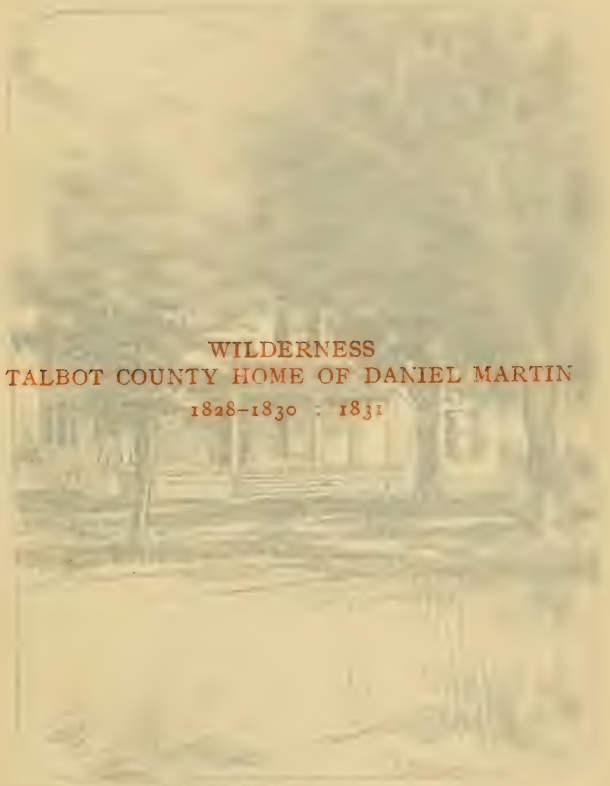
When the unfavorable report upon the proposed canal between Georgetown and Baltimore was made, it was determined to build a railway between Baltimore and the Ohio, over which box cars loaded with freight might be hauled by horses and mules. Governor Kent had presided at the Washington meeting which, in 1823, planned the Chesapeake and Ohio canal, and he was for some years a director in the company constructing this waterway. He now took an active part in the building of the Baltimore and Ohio, and the broad-mindedness of the man is shown in his appeal to the people not to oppose either project in favor of the other, but with both heart and soul to sustain the rival movements that were to result in the Chesapeake and Ohio canal and the Baltimore and Ohio railroad. The meeting at which plans for building the Baltimore and Ohio were finally put into shape was held in Baltimore, February 12, 1827. The committee appointed to perfect plans reported a week later that it approved of measures being taken "to construct a double-track railroad between the city of Baltimore and some point on the Ohio river by the most eligible and direct route." Governor Kent, Charles Carroll of Carrollton and ex-Governor Ridgely were on the committee which petitioned the Maryland legislature for a charter for the proposed railroad, and the legislature within a very few days granted the requested privilege.

Governor Kent was now preparing for another change in political faith. His administration was brought to a close in 1828. About this time there began a war in the republican party between the Adams men and the Jackson faction. The party, at this time called the republican-democratic, was disrupted, the loyal ones becoming the democrats. Mr. Kent and a host of others returned to somewhat the principles of the old federal party and became known as the national republicans, who in time were to be the whigs. In December, 1831, the national republicans held a meeting in Baltimore and elected Joseph Kent vice-president of the organization. The ex-governor entered the war upon his old associates with all the vigor which he usually displayed, and in a very bitter contest succeeded in winning for himself sufficient support to be sent to the United States senate. He was elected for six years—from 1833 to 1839. Before his term had expired, however, he died, November 24, 1837, at his residence, Rose Mount, near Bladensburg. He had been married twice. His first wife was Miss Eleanor Lee Wallace, daughter of Dr. Michael and Eleanor (Contee) Wallace, by whom he had five children. The first Mrs. Kent died in 1826. Dr. Kent's second wife was Miss Alice Lee Contee, of Charles county, who left no issue.

XX

DANIEL MARTIN

When new political parties are formed by a general disintegration of the body politic, there is apt to prevail for at least a portion of the period of evolution much vagueness concerning political boundary lines. Take, for example, the years intervening between the death of the federal and the birth of the whig parties, and in the presidential campaign of 1824 there appear four candidates for the presidency under the standard of the republican-democratic party; and the chief mark of distinction between them, as far as party name is concerned, is that John Quincy Adams, for instance, was known as an anti-Jacksonian, while Andrew Jackson naturally was a strictly Jackson candidate. An accompaniment to this groping in national politics is found in the local affairs of Maryland at about the same time. While the several divisions of the republican-democratic party were seeking for doctrines to incorporate into their beliefs, Maryland wavered from one to the other. The state would elect a legislature favorable to Adams this year, but the next general assembly would be radically Jacksonian. This constant shifting of sentiment is responsible for the piecemeal—and therefore unimpressive—administration of Governor Martin. He was elected to office and gave every promise of rendering the state good service; but the one-year term for which governors were then chosen did not afford him opportunity to put into practice his policies before a Jackson governor succeeded him and ended his experiment. Within another twelve months, however, Mr. Martin was again elected state



WILDERNESS
TALBOT COUNTY HOME OF DANIEL MARTIN
1828–1830 : 1831

DANIEL MARTIN



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executive, but this time death interrupted his direction of Maryland's affairs, and consequently the state's history records only two fragments of administration which are as unsatisfying as fragments usually are.

Daniel Martin, third son of Nicholas and Hannah (Oldham) Martin, was born at The Wilderness, near Easton, in 1780. The boy was given a liberal education and, because of his father's business at Annapolis, gained the additional benefit of being thrown with men of consequence. His primary training was acquired in part in his home county and part at Annapolis. After the completion of his preparatory schooling, he matriculated at St. John's College, Annapolis, where he received his academic training. During his residence at Annapolis Mr. Martin made the acquaintance of Miss Mary Clare Maccubbin, of that city, who in 1816, became his wife. After leaving college Mr. Martin devoted his time to agricultural pursuits, and for some time held aloof from public life, although he was ever active in the political councils of his county. His initial appearance as a legislator was made about the time of the federalists' final defeat. In 1819 Daniel Martin was sent to Annapolis with Mr. Samuel Sprigg, who shortly thereafter became governor, as Talbot's representative in the house of delegates. Martin remained in the legislature until 1821, after which year he was lost for some time to the public eye. He was a man to whom the management of his farm made a strong appeal, and a large part of his time during the period intervening between his service in the legislature and his administration of affairs in the executive mansion was devoted to farming.

In the decade from 1820 to 1830 one of the chief themes upon the stump in national and state campaigns was the question of internal improvements. An experiment with a canal in New York had revealed the means by which the

commerce of the country was to attain marvelous development, and everywhere the talk was of cutting canals and building railroads. In Maryland the matter of internal improvements was especially stressed. When the legislature met to elect a successor to Joseph Kent, who had been a herald of internal improvements, there were two candidates presented by the two factions of the republican-democratic party. Daniel Martin, of Talbot county, was chosen, and assumed office January 15, 1829. His term expired the next year, by which time the Jackson elements had succeeded in gaining control of the legislature and, instead of reëlecting Governor Martin, Thomas King Carroll, a Jackson supporter, was chosen. Governor Carroll was in office from January 15, 1830, to January 13, 1831, by which time the legislature had again become anti-Jackson, and ex-Governor Martin was once more chosen state executive. His term, beginning in the opening days of 1831, continued only until July of the same year, when his death put to a close an administration that was both conservative and progressive.

This fragmentary service as chief magistrate does not present an opportunity to draw a final conclusion as to the executive abilities of Governor Martin, but his utterances while in office and his public acts give no uncertain indication of what his administration would have been, had there been afforded him ample opportunity for the display of his ability. His chief characteristic—which made him unalterably antagonistic to President Jackson personally, even though he might have been favorable to the political principles of Jackson's supporters generally—was an abhorrence of political patronage. General Jackson, on the other hand, was the high priest of the doctrine of political favors in the shape of public offices. All the predecessors of Jackson in the presidential office had to their credit

a total of 74 removals from public office because of the political faith of those dismissed. When "Old Hickory," however, came to the executive mansion he dismissed during the first year of his administration between 1000 and 2000 office-holders that his own adherents might become public employees. This was the beginning of what is known as the "spoils system" in America, which is based upon the theory that to the victors belong the spoils of public office.

Governor Martin was decidedly a virtuous politician, and whatever doctrines he either devised or supported were eminently moral. He was opposed to anything approaching a "spoils system," and declared that as soon as the parties should become thoroughly instilled with the notion that offices were simply rewards for political workers there would follow a desire to increase the number of public offices; and Governor Martin was an avowed advocate of such governmental organization as would call for few officers in the state departments. Although conservative in this particular, he was primarily a progressive man. He devoted much of his time to the consideration of internal improvements then going on. He took an active part in the affairs of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, of which he was a charter member, and gave his support to the Chesapeake and Ohio canal project. He was untiring in his endeavors to have the educational institutions of the state increased in numbers and brought up to a higher standard of efficiency. He also advanced weighty arguments in favor of the employment of convicts confined in penal institutions for the purpose of manufacturing goods, the profits from which should considerably reduce, if not completely offset, the expense attendant upon their incarceration.

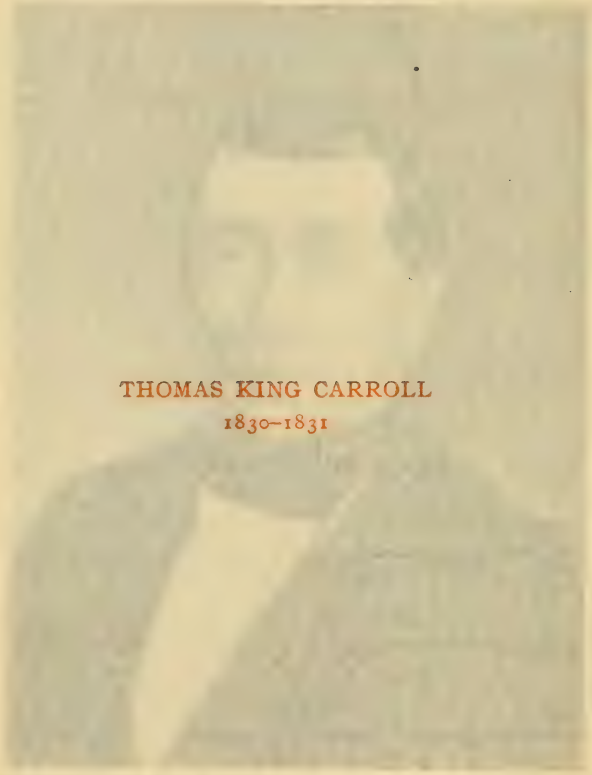
While Governor Martin had had limited opportunity during his first administration of one year's duration to

display his ability as an executive and his purity of purpose as a citizen, it was from his second administration that the greatest accomplishments were expected. His discharge of the duties of state executive during the term 1829–30 received hearty indorsement by his reëlection as governor after a break of a single year by the Carroll administration. Further, the ranks of his supporters in the state had been strengthened, and there was every reason to believe that he would be retained in office for the full two additional years to which he was eligible under the constitution. For both the state, therefore, and for Mr. Martin himself the outlook was promising, but death interposed, and what would have been the record of his subsequent administration of Maryland affairs, had he lived, remains a matter for speculation. He was taken ill on Friday, July 8, 1831, and died at his Talbot county estate on the following Monday, July 11, at 3 o'clock. Two days later he was buried near his home, on the Choptank river.



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THOMAS KING CARROLL



THOMAS KING CARROLL
1830–1831

XXI

THOMAS KING CARROLL

Modesty and diffidence are not common traits in the average politician. Indeed, it would appear little short of impossible for a man with a markedly retiring disposition to win large political honors. But in the gallery of Maryland's governors there hangs the picture of one executive who was preëminently modest and quiet. His life began when the federation of the American states under the constitution was still in an experimental stage. He took part in the early political affairs of the state and witnessed America's development along democratic lines. He was in the heat of the slavery discussion, saw the conflict which sought to solve the negro problem, and watched over his native commonwealth when she joined in the task of binding up the wounds inflicted by war. And yet, through it all, Governor Carroll appears more as a spectator than a principal, not because he only looked on, but because he labored quietly for the causes which he favored. He joined the company of governors so modestly, he remained in office so brief a period, and his retirement from the executive mansion was so quiet, that somehow he seems mingled with the crowd rather than the leaders.

Thomas King Carroll was born at Kingston Hall, Somerset county, April 29, 1793. He was descended from Capt. Henry Carroll, the proprietor of Susquehanna in St. Mary's county, who died shortly before the outbreak of the Revolution. Captain Carroll's eldest son was Col. Henry James Carroll, who married Miss Elizabeth Barnes King, the only daughter of Col. Thomas King, of Kingston Hall,

Somerset county. Somerset was then a stronghold of the Presbyterians, and when announcement was made of an engagement between Miss King, a Presbyterian, and Colonel Carroll, a Roman Catholic, there followed considerable excitement in the county, and posters were distributed denouncing the marriage of a King and a Catholic. Upon his marriage Colonel Carroll and his wife took up their residence at Kingston Hall, and there Thomas King Carroll, their eldest son, was born. The home in which his boyhood was passed furnished fertile soil for the development of a refined and cultured character, and Governor Carroll, despite his support of the democratic party, was in a number of his ways a typical aristocrat of his day. Many of the old English customs were retained at Kingston Hall—all the servants wore livery, and when the family traveled it was in a coach and four with outriders.

Young Carroll commenced his academic studies at Charlotte Hall School, in St. Mary's county. In 1802 he entered Washington Academy, Somerset county, where he continued for the following eight years, leaving that institution in 1810. He then became a member of the junior class of the University of Pennsylvania, from which he was graduated in 1811. In the fall of that year he began to study law in the office of Ephraim King Wilson, in Snow Hill, where he continued until 1813. He then entered the office of Gen. Robert Goodloe Harper, of Baltimore, and completed his law studies, qualifying at the bar of Somerset county in June, 1814. He had determined to practice law in Baltimore, but the sudden death of his father upset his plans and changed considerably the course of his life. When the elder Carroll died Thomas King Carroll abandoned law, and returning to Kingston Hall undertook the management of his father's large estate.

The year 1814 was an eventful one in Mr. Carroll's life

for other reasons than that it witnessed his admission to the bar. On June 23 of that year, he was married to Miss Julianna Stevenson, a daughter of Dr. Henry Stevenson, of Baltimore. Dr. Stevenson was one of the most widely known and distinguished physicians of his day and is honored in both medical and civic annals. Another important event in the early life of Carroll was his entrance into the Masonic order, of which he was throughout the remaining years of his life an active member. Shortly after having arrived at maturity Mr. Carroll was elected without opposition a member of the house of delegates, where he served for two years. He was a member of the "jury" court and subsequently judge of the orphans' court, which office he held at the time of his election as governor of the state. He also served twice as an elector of the senate of Maryland.

In the fall of 1829 Thomas King Carroll was elected governor over Daniel Martin, who was then in the executive mansion, and he was inaugurated on January 15, 1830. The legislative elections in the state, however, changed the complexion of the general assembly, and when the two houses were ready to ballot for a governor in the fall of 1830 the democrats were in the minority, and so Daniel Martin was reëlected. In consequence the term of Governor Carroll covered only twelve months, and he relinquished the gubernatorial office to Martin on January 13, 1831. Like Governor Martin, Mr. Carroll was hindered because of the brief period in which he was in office from accomplishing anything of great moment as a monument to his administration He was the advocate of certain theories and principles, however, which somewhat distinguish the governor, if not the governorship.

Mr. Carroll was much opposed to the prevailing tendency toward military display. In this he showed himself democratic, and at the same time gave evidence of being a

practical man, for his chief complaint against the thing deplored was that it drew large crowds from their labor and resulted in dissipation. And yet Mr. Carroll personally was not democratic. He was a proud and sensitive man who was ceremonious even in his family circle and had a dignity of carriage which called forth the greatest consideration and deference wherever he appeared. He was intellectual and patriotic, and in all that he did or sought to do his intellectuality and patriotism were revealed; but he lacked woefully the aggressiveness and self-seeking of the average politician. It is said that certain leaders in the legislature were conferring with a view to placing Mr. Carroll in nomination for the United States senate, when a supposed friend took it upon himself to declare that Mr. Carroll would not accept the honor. There was but one man who could have resurrected the matter thereafter, but that one chose rather to be silent.

Governor Carroll gave much thought to the subject of education. He joined the movement to improve the academic department of the University of Maryland, and he was an advocate of an educational system in Maryland. He was also a man who appreciated the worth of history, and suggested to congress that provision be made for copying such Revolutionary records as were in the English libraries. He labored in behalf of the veterans of the Revolutionary war, aiding them in their efforts to receive much-needed assistance from the federal government. He also gave much thought to the question which was soon to prove a pitfall to the American nation, and his studies of slavery led him to join those who favored a policy which would colonize the negroes and free the states of their black burden. Shortly after his retirement as governor he was elected a member of the state senate, but declined to accept the office. Although he had been a stanch supporter of Jackson, he after-

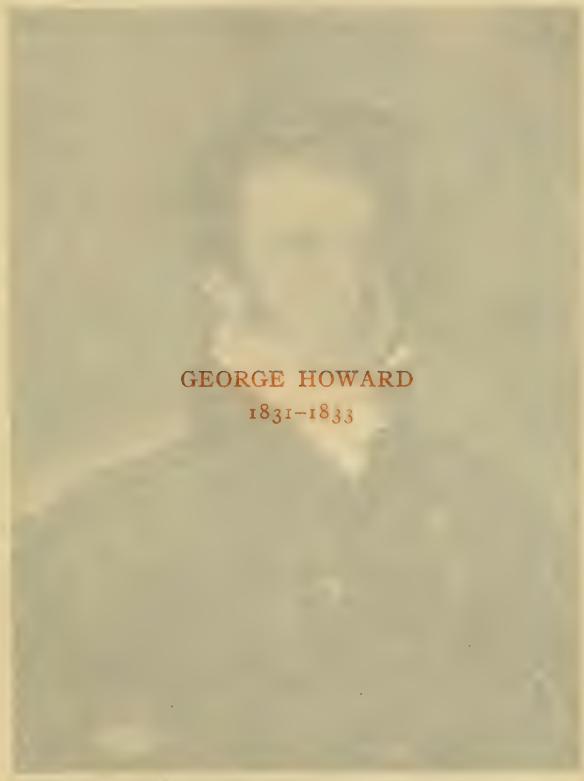
ward differed with "Old Hickory." and in consequence of their rupture joined the supporters of Henry Clay.

Ex-Governor Carroll retired to Kingston Hall at the close of his administration, where he lived until 1840, when he removed to Dorchester county, taking up his residence on a large estate near Church Creek. Governor Pratt, who became governor of Maryland in the forties, appointed Mr. Carroll a lottery commissioner for Maryland, and when General Taylor became president in 1849, he appointed Mr. Carroll naval officer of the port of Baltimore. Mr. Carroll died at an advanced age on October 3, 1873.

XXII

GEORGE HOWARD

Because of the great defect in Maryland's early constitution, which made possible a yearly change of governors, the state experienced within the period from January, 1829, to January, 1833, four separate administrations. Daniel Martin, a legislator of large promise, entered the executive mansion in January, 1829, and inaugurated a policy which might have made his administration memorable; but the constitution permitted Mr. Martin's removal after he had served only one year. He was succeeded by Thomas King Carroll, a deep thinker and a wise counselor; but again the constitution opened up a way for denying the state much good from Carroll's administration. The federalists, having again won control of the legislature, turned Governor Carroll from office at the close of his first term and Mr. Martin was reinstated. For the next change of administration the constitution was not responsible. Martin died in the first year of his second administration, and left open the way for a new governor. George Howard, his successor, was the least promising governor of the three who occupied the executive mansion during these four short administrations. Consequently, by his retirement the state, to all appearances, lost less because of its constitutional weaknesses than when Mr. Carroll and Mr. Martin failed of reëlection. Governor Howard did not lack the ability to make an able executive, nor did he lack the morality to give the people a clean administration; his greatest fault was his disinclination to be governor and as soon as his conscience would permit it, he stepped out of the governor's office back into



GEORGE HOWARD
1831–1833

GEORGE HOWARD



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private life, where he continued with only occasional and slight interruptions until the time of his death.

George Howard was born the son of a governor of Maryland. His father, John Eager Howard, had served with great distinction in the Revolutionary War and was elected chief magistrate of Maryland the year before his governor-son's birth. General Howard had married Miss Margaret Chew, and to them was born, November 21, 1789, George Howard. By his schooling, as well as by his disposition, young Howard seemed destined for a private rather than a public career; he was not possessed even in a small way of that ambition to lead which characterized his more famous brother, Benjamin Chew Howard. He received his education from private tutors at his father's estate of Belvedere, in Baltimore county, where he spent his early years. Through his association with General Howard, who was a hearty supporter of the federal party, it was but natural that he should imbibe federalistic doctrines, and he became an uncompromising federalist. His father had purchased a tract of land in Anne Arundel county near Woodstock, which was later incorporated into Howard county, and this place was presented to the son, who, on December 26, 1811, married Miss Prudence Gough Ridgely, a daughter of Charles Carnan Ridgely, of Hampton. They took up their residence at Waverly, Anne Arundel county, where a large family was reared. His children were a deep concern to Mr. Howard, who, upon being elected governor of Maryland in 1832, asked the legislature to be lenient with him as to the time when he should appear to qualify, as he was detained at home by the indisposition of his family.

During the years that the Howards lived at Waverly they do not seem to have become prominent in public affairs to any marked extent. In fact, practically the first

appearance of any moment which the future governor made in public life was when he became a member of the council named to advise Governor Martin. This council was elected a few days after Daniel Martin was chosen governor and began its service in January, 1831. Howard was a great admirer of Martin and it is possible that his friendship for the governor was the greatest inducement in the way of persuading him to become a state official. Governor Martin died early in July, and Mr. Howard was suddenly brought into considerable prominence. At the meeting of the executive council, on July 22, 1831, he was called upon to assume the robe of his fallen chief, and it was with every evidence of sincerity that he declared he accepted the office solely because the death of Martin imposed upon him public duties from the due exaction of which he did not feel himself at liberty to retire. The short governorship which followed, covering the period from July 22, 1831, to January 17, 1833, presents an administration which is somewhat different from that of any other Maryland governor. Mr. Howard at no time during his occupancy of the executive mansion seemed quite able to understand fully that the governor of Maryland and himself were one and the same man. He was forever standing aloof, surveying his administration more as a disinterested spectator than as the chief actor. He constantly brought to mind of others the fact that he had merely taken up the reins of government because the chosen chief had let them drop from his hands and he did not often seek to impress his individuality upon state affairs. What others had started he continued, but always, confessedly, as he thought they would have continued it; and not infrequently he refrained from giving expression to his own sentiments upon the plea that his predecessors in office had given expression to about the same sentiments. He was in truth the pilgrim

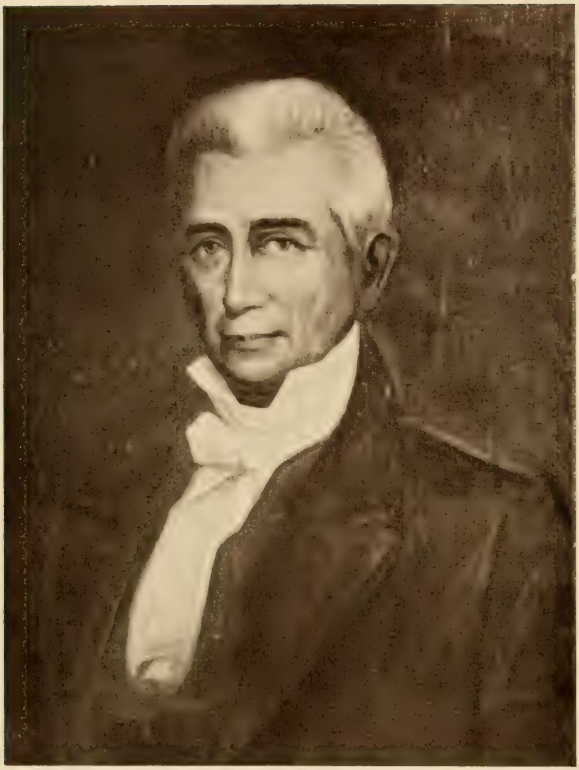
governor, never for one moment losing sight of the fact that his governorship was transient.

There were, of course, times when his individuality asserted itself. He was bitter, for instance, in his public denouncements of President Jackson because the latter did not approve of certain improvements which the general government was requested to make in Maryland. But Governor Howard was greatly influenced in his attitude toward "Old Hickory" by the difference in their respective political faiths. Then, too, Mr. Howard was an uncompromising foe of lotteries, by which, in the name of charity, the people gambled legally. Churches were built, colleges endowed, and monuments raised through the proceeds of public lotteries. He favored an entire suppression of lotteries, that "constitute a system of gambling, which, although licensed, is extremely prejudicial." Himself a large slaveholder, he was a hearty supporter of such legislation as would secure to the owner of bondmen full enjoyment of their property. He was, however, favorable to the movement which had as its purpose a colonization of the negroes in Africa, and hoped that some day it might succeed in "the restoration of the whole of our colored population to the land of their forefathers." In the early forties Mr. Howard was instrumental in bringing slaveholders of Maryland into an organized body for the purpose of seeing that the fugitive slave law was enforced.

The unexpired term of Governor Martin, which was filled by Mr. Howard, terminated in January, 1832, and on the second day of that month the legislature nominated George Howard for governor, and he was chosen by a much larger majority than had been given his predecessor. Of the 82 ballots cast Mr. Howard received 64; 5 were given to Nicholas Brewer, and 13 blanks were voted. During this full term Governor Howard received from the legislature

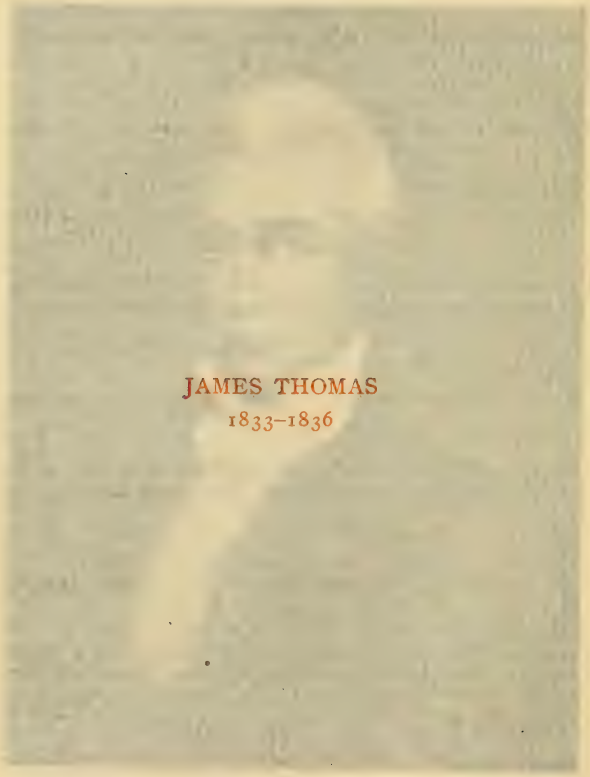
of South Carolina certain documents bearing upon that state's proposed course of nullification. He had been taught from childhood not to shrink from responsibility in the expression of his opinion, whenever such opinion seemed to be called for, and he went after the leaders of South Carolina with a right good will. "The spirit of insubordination" which showed itself in "the deluded people" of a sister state he labeled as a wickedness which could be thought of only "by desperate men or unfortunate maniacs."

As was natural for a man brought up in the way that George Howard had been, he was somewhat impulsive and, consequently, frequently forced to change his views upon public questions after giving the subject less passionate and more reasonable consideration. He was first opposed to the state bank as a substitute for the bank of the United States, which Jackson refused to recharter, but subsequently he became a hearty supporter of this institution. He discussed the subject of public education, but in his haste advocated that the state endow a few colleges, as if that would supply the need for general free schools. At the close of the term for which Governor Howard was elected he declined to stand for another term, and James Thomas was chosen state executive in January, 1833. Mr. Howard subsequently appeared as a presidential elector in 1836 and 1840 in support of Harrison, the whig, for president. He also took part in the slavery agitation in the late thirties and the forties. But his life after his retirement from the executive mansion was in general quite as uneventful as it had been before his governorship, and was brought to a peaceful end at Waverly, on August 2, 1846.



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JAMES THOMAS



JAMES THOMAS
1833–1836

XXIII

JAMES THOMAS

In making a word-picture of some public men an outline of their ancestry is not only unnecessary, but detrimental, for it weakens the effect of the character studied. This is natural, since many distinguished personages have sprung from commonplace parentage, and many more have had as their most marked traits characteristics that were not apparent in the make-up of their forebears. In like manner, when producing a word-portrait of some public men an account of their early environment is not requisite, because their development from ordinary into extraordinary characters seems altogether independent of any contribution from their childhood surroundings. But these rules are not applicable to a biographical sketch of James Thomas. He was descended from the Calverts. He was born and reared in staid old St. Mary's county. And viewed without the desirable background of ancestry and early environment, Mr. Thomas may seem in his public career less progressive and advanced than some of the public men of his time. Include, however, this background, and his personality becomes reminiscent of the more distinguished of Maryland's statesmen in colonial days.

James Thomas, son of William and Catherine (Boarman) Thomas, was born at De la Brooke Manor, St. Mary's county, on March 11, 1785. On his maternal side he was related to Commander Robert Brooke, the adventurer, who came to America in 1650, and built the mansion in which the governor was born. Young Thomas was entered at Charlotte Hall Academy, from which he was graduated

in 1804. He later went to Philadelphia, where he studied medicine, receiving his doctor's degree in 1807. Dr. Thomas then returned to his native county, where he began to practice his profession, and early the next year he was married to Miss Elizabeth Coates. For some years thereafter he devoted his attention chiefly to his chosen profession, and his practice made substantial gains in extent. Upon the outbreak of the second war with England, however, Dr. Thomas left his fireside to take up arms in his country's cause, and was commissioned major in the Fourth Maryland Cavalry. Because of meritorious service he was subsequently brevetted major-general.

After the war—say 1815 to 1820—Dr. Thomas was chiefly a practitioner, but his daily journeyings about the country afforded him opportunity for studying the political field of his own county, and he finally determined to enter politics. In 1820 he appeared as a candidate for the general assembly. This appearance as a political factor marked the broadening of his activities, since for many years thereafter he was more or less constantly in public life. Dr. Thomas was elected to the house of delegates in 1820, and was several times reëlected, so that his membership in the lower branch of the legislature continued from 1820 to 1826. He closed his career as delegate to enter upon the more important duties of state senator, in which capacity he served for five years.

Throughout the legislative career of Dr. Thomas, the country generally and Maryland particularly were concerned with the subject of internal improvement. The people had gone mad about canal cutting and railway building, and Dr. Thomas had been an ardent champion, in the house and in the senate, of all measures that looked for state aid to transportation lines either begun or planned. It was, perhaps, as much his record as a supporter of internal improvement enterprises as anything else that recom-

mended him to the legislature for governor of the state when George Howard, in the opening month of 1833, refused to stand for reëlection. Mr. Thomas was elected governor in 1833, and he was reëlected in 1834 and 1835. No special significance, as far as he is concerned, attaches itself to the fact that at the time of his first reëlection—1834—his majority was very meager. That the whigs were able to give their nominee but 48 votes out of a total of 95 was due to a temporary disfavor of whiggish principles rather than to any fault with the state executive, and a year later—1835—Governor Thomas received 67 out of 83 votes.

It is in the governorship of Mr. Thomas that the background of both his ancestry and his early training are most essential. In his demeanor there was a touch of formality, a ceremoniousness that in years gone by distinguished the landed gentleman from his less prosperous fellowmen. And in his thoughts, his utterances, and his doctrines there come to the surface, now and again, suggestions of the academic statesman. In short, the historical student will occasionally be led to believe that Governor Thomas gained his views upon life from books rather than through intimate association with his fellowmen. The real points of importance, however, in his administration—extending from January 17, 1833, to January 14, 1836—are hinged upon matters of internal improvement. Some of these matters are commendable, some are censurable, but all were doubtless inspired by the desire of developing the agricultural and commercial possibilities of the land, and thereby enriching the people.

First credit in the Thomas governorship must be given to the termination of the war between the Chesapeake and Ohio canal interests and those back of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad. The administration was influential in bringing about this peace, which meant much to the success

of the railway undertaking, at least. There had sprung up a rivalry between the two enterprises, and the canal people did everything in their power to block the way of the railroad. Without resorting to the harsh measures that had been suggested by Governor Howard as being necessary to compel the canal interests to comply with the instructions of the legislature, an amicable condition was brought about which made it possible for the Baltimore and Ohio to shove its lines westward. Governor Thomas was also somewhat responsible for the state giving some $2,000,000 to the Chesapeake and Ohio, and $1,000,000 to the Susquehanna railroad (later made part of the Northern Central railway.) The first contribution bore the state no benefit, though of course this could not be foreseen at that time; but the general cause for which both subscriptions were made was later to prove beneficial to Maryland. Dr. Thomas persistently advocated, both as a member of the general assembly and as governor, a more extended and a more efficient system of public education. It was during his administration that the first geological work in Maryland was started and the map produced at that time possesses considerable historical value inasmuch as it restored the original names to many places whose historical identity had very nearly been lost.

Like his whig predecessors and successor in office, Dr. Thomas was a political foe of President Jackson. He advocated liberal internal improvement at the expense of the state or nation, while Jackson opposed the employment of public funds for building transporation lines for private corporations. President Jackson and Governor Thomas also differed upon the question of banks; and here a passing word should be said regarding the failure of the Bank of Maryland during the Thomas administration. The stock of this institution was quoted at $500 a share—although its

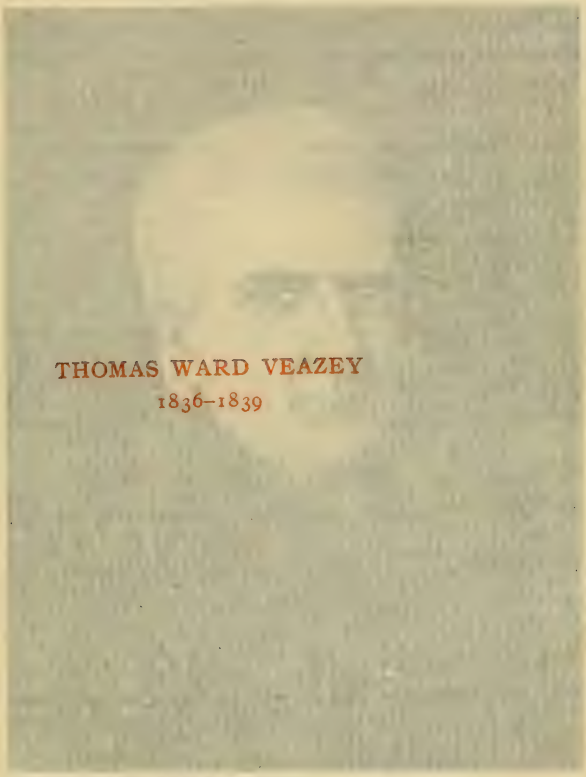
par value was but $300—up to the very eve of its failure. The collapse of the bank disclosed the fact that its securities had been manipulated at the expense of the people; yet for a year and a half after the failure the small creditors waited patiently for an accounting. At last the populace took matters into its own hands, and, beginning on August 6, 1835, there were several days of rioting and mob-rule in Baltimore. The houses of those held responsible for the bank's downfall were broken into and the torch was applied to both furnishings and buildings. Finally Governor Thomas called upon the United States government for troops with which to end the riot, and the rioters were dispersed, but not until more than a hundred thousand dollars' worth of property had been destroyed. This incident prompted Governor Thomas to take measures toward having a reliable state militia established.

Governor Thomas was succeeded in 1836 by Thomas W. Veazey, the last of the whig governors. He retired to his home at Deep Falls, St. Mary's county, where he passed the remaining years of his life. He died on Christmas Day, 1845.

XXIV

THOMAS WARD VEAZEY

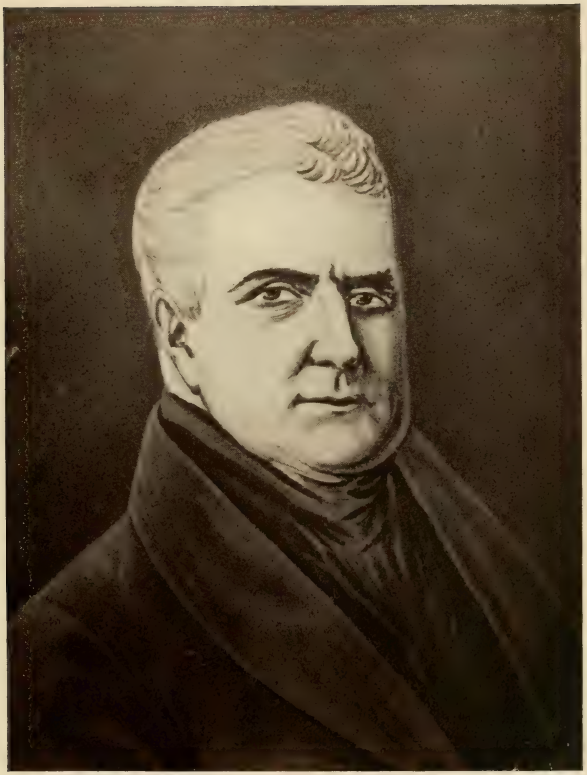
Maryland's first state constitution was adopted in 1776—the same year in which the colonies declared their independence of England—and continued in force until 1851, when the second constitution was adopted. In the mean time, however, the earlier governmental instrument underwent radical modification, notably by a more liberal granting of the elective franchise to the free citizens and by an amendment which took the election of governor and state senators from the legislature and electoral college, respectively, and gave it to the voters as a whole. To whom honor for this latter move toward republicanism properly belongs is uncertain: the democrats, then known as republicans, had advocated such a change long before it was effected; but on the other hand, the whigs—opponents generally of any move toward liberal democracy in government—were the ones who actually accomplished the change in 1838. That they were forced to accede to the general clamor for some such reform is but a half truth, although it must be admitted that the public demand was never so insistent as at the time when the reform act, which brought about the new order, was adopted. The apparent paradox of the situation—the foes of republicanism granting the state a more republican government—is explained by the fact that the whig who was state executive at that time was a strategist, for it was solely by strategy that Governor Veazey, born enemy that he was of real democracy, succeeded in writing himself down as a patron of truly democratic government.



THOMAS WARD VEAZEY
1836–1839

XXIV

THOMAS WARD VEAZEY



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Long before the state had thrown off her allegiance to England the Veazeys had become prominent in the affairs of the Eastern Shore of Maryland. The immigrant progenitor of the family was John Veazey, originally from Essex county, England, who came to America and finally settled in Cecil county, where he purchased in 1687 what is known as Cherry Grove. Edward Veazey, father of the governor, was a planter of Cecil county, who served as colonial high sheriff from 1751 to 1753, but otherwise remained in private life. His youngest son, Thomas Ward Veazey, was born on January 31, 1774. The father died while the boy was in his childhood; and his mother, who before marriage had been Miss Elizabeth De Coursey, also died before he had attained his majority.

Mr. Veazey received his primary education in Cecil county, but later went to Washington College, where he completed his studies. Upon leaving college he returned to his home and became a planter. From early manhood he took an active part in the public matters of his section and, with increasing years, his interest in matters of public concern expanded so as to include the affairs of both the state and the nation. In 1808 and again in 1812 Mr. Veazey was a presidential elector. In 1811 he was elected a member of the house of delegates from Cecil county and in the following year was reëlected. During the second war with England, however, he forsook the general assembly that he might take part in the conflict, and was in command of the forces which engaged in the defense of Fredericktown, Cecil county, when that place was attacked by the British. He served later as lieutenant-colonel of the Forty-ninth Maryland Regiment. After the close of hostilities Mr. Veazey was not much in the public eye until 1833, when he again assumed a place in the council halls of the state. At this time he was chosen as a member of the

council of James Thomas, governor of Maryland, and was reëlected to the council in 1834.

At the close of Governor Thomas's administration, the whigs of the legislature named Mr. Veazey as candidate for governor, and the Cecil countian received 53 of the total of 76 ballots cast, the remaining 23 tickets being blanks. The first impression made by the Veazey administration was favorable. The eight-million-dollar bill, introduced in the legislature in 1835, was passed at a special session of the legislature in June of 1836, and upon its passage the people, unconscious of the bankruptcy which was to follow the state's reckless contribution to private enterprises, engaged in jollification throughout the commonwealth. The governor was feted and toasted, and everybody thought that a most notable thing had been accomplished because Maryland gave to the Baltimore and Ohio, the Chesapeake and Ohio and several other companies sums aggregating $8,000,000 that were not in the treasury.

Just three days thereafter, however, or on June 6, 1836, the so-called reform convention met in Baltimore and discussed the necessity of changing the state constitution. Among the resolutions passed was one recommending the people of the counties and cities friendly to amending the constitution to elect at the next October election delegates pledged to introduce and support a bill to provide for taking the sense of the people on the question of such reform. That a majority of the people of Maryland desired a change in the constitution is certain; that that majority was then able to secure such a change is, nevertheless, questionable, because of the manner of electing state senators, who were not chosen directly by the people, but by an electoral college. Representation in this college was not in accord with the population of the various sections. Each county had the privilege of choosing two

electors of state senators, while Baltimore city was permitted to name only one member and a like privilege was also granted to the small city of Annapolis. As a result of this inequitable arrangement a majority of the least populous counties of the state could by combination name the entire state senate, which was elected for five years.

In the election of 1836 for members of the senatorial college there were chosen 21 whigs and 19 democrats. The 21 whigs represented 85,179 constituents, while the 19 democrats represented 205,922. Thus it will be seen that the representatives of a little more than one-fourth of the people had a majority in the electoral college; the whigs however, lacked enough votes to have absolute control, as it was required that at least 24 ballots should constitute a quorum in the electoral college. Frederick county had instructed its electors that unless they could get the whig members to agree to name out of the fifteen men for state senators at least eight who were favorable to constitutional reform, they should refuse to go into session, provided, of course, they could get the other democratic members to act with them. The whigs refused to concede to this demand, and in consequence the democrats returned to their homes, without having gone into session, believing, as they did, that they had prevented the creation of a general assembly and hoping by some general convention to oust the whigs from power. But Governor Veazey calmly announced that since the electoral college had failed to elect a new senate, the old senate constituted the senate of Maryland, and that it should continue to do so until its successor was lawfully elected. At the same time he instructed the old state senators to assemble at Annapolis to discharge their duties until they should be superseded by legally elected successors.

This was Governor Veazey's masterstroke. A man with

less courage than he would have faltered; a man with more passion would have gone too far. He went just far enough to rouse the people of the state to his support. Realizing that they had blundered, the bolting democrats returned to Annapolis; the electoral college went into session and a new state senate was elected. At this postponed election Mr. Veazey made his second masterstroke when he himself suggested to the legislature that the constitution be changed. Upon the reassembling of the electoral college fifteen whig senators were chosen, and thus the general assembly became even more strongly whig than it had been at the beginning of Governor Veazey's administration.

At the annual election for state executive on January 2, 1837, Mr. Veazey's name was the only one presented. Of the 81 votes cast he received 70. During the second year of his administration, however, the people of the state returned to their earlier political faith, and although Governor Veazey was reëlected in 1838, he received only 52 votes of the 81, while 24 members of the legislature voted blanks and 5 votes were for other candidates. The gubernatorial election in 1838 marked the last time that the general assembly elected a governor for a full term. In the fall of 1838, in accordance with the amendment to the constitution the chief magistrate of the state was chosen directly by the people. The state senate was also reorganized, there being one senator from each county and one from Baltimore city, and the senators were chosen directly by the people, while the senatorial electoral college and the governor's council were both abolished.

The administration of Governor Veazey was brought to a close in the opening days of January, 1839, when he was succeeded by William Grason. He retired to his Cecil county plantation, where he passed the closing years of his life. He had been married three times, and a large

family was sheltered under his roof in the latter part of his life. His first wife, to whom he was wedded in 1794 was Miss Sarah Worrell, of Kent county, who died in the following year, leaving to his care a little daughter. His second wife was Miss Mary Veazey, the governor's first cousin; she died in 1810, leaving a family of children. In 1812 Mr. Veazey married Miss Mary Wallace, of Elkton, by whom he was the father of five children. The public question in which Governor Veazey was, perhaps, most interested was calling forth heated discussion at the time of his death, which occurred on July 1, 1842. Had he lived longer he would doubtless have played an important part in the ante-bellum strife of debaters, for he was a large slaveholder, an uncompromising foe of abolition and an ardent supporter of the doctrine of states' rights.

XXV

WILLIAM GRASON

Of all the sorts of men that go to make up the human family, there is none more discredited, less loved, or as much abused as the clan of Jeremiahs. Their office of lamenting strikes no responsive note in the average bosom, for they see only the ills of the world, while the people are striving to forget that there is aught of unpleasantness in life. The ordinary man finds a mountainous argument in favor of optimism in the mere fact that it is more cheerful than pessimism; and therefore the painstaking being who has smoked his glasses that he may see the truth clearly is either shoved to one side by the masses or greeted with derision, while he who wears the rose-tinted spectacles has ever at his heels a respectable mob. The people of Maryland in the first half of the last century were chiefly optimists, although the course which public affairs were taking then was destined to lead to financial disaster. It seems inconsistent, therefore, that they should have chosen as their first popular governor a pessimist, for Mr. Grason throughout his administration seldom emerged from the rôle of a political Jeremiah. The fondest delusions of the people he shattered as easily as one might prick a bubble, and the thing which had for years been worshiped as prosperity he labeled "failure," As governor, at least, Mr. Grason was a destructionist; but the result of his efforts along this line were more beneficial to Maryland in the long run than many times as much constructive work of his predecessors.

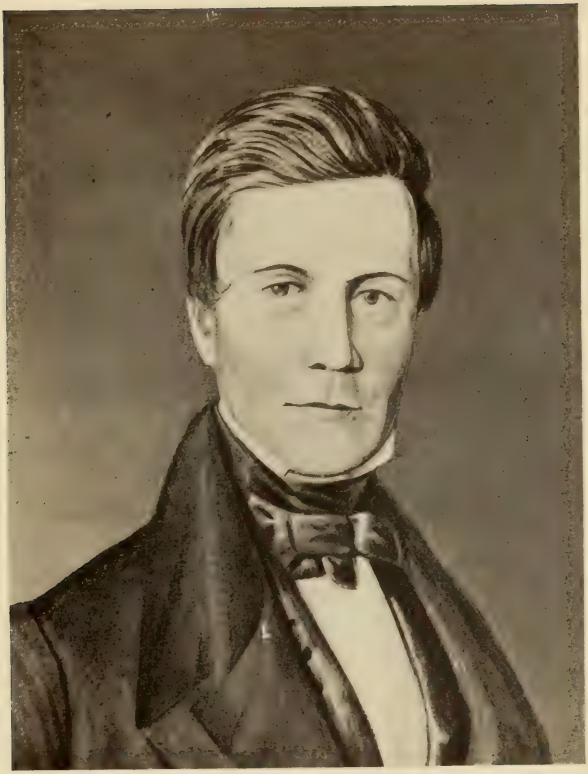
William Grason was born at Eagle's Nest, on the Wye river, in 1786. His father, Richard Grason, was a farmer. The



WILLIAM GRASON
1839–1842

XXV

WILLIAM GRASON



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boy received his elementary education in the neighboring schools on the Eastern Shore, but later was sent to Annapolis, where he entered St. John's College. His intimacy with the sea during boyhood had developed in the youth an inclination for the life of a sailor, and after completing his course at St. John's, Mr. Grason entered the United States navy as a midshipman. His connection with the navy, however, did not continue for long, and he soon returned to his home, with his back forever turned upon the career of a sailor. In 1812 Mr. Grason was married to Miss Susan Orrick Sulivane, daughter of James Bennett Sulivane, of Cambridge, and the young couple settled near the Dorchester county home of the bride. After two or three years, however, Mr. and Mrs. Grason returned to the native county of the future governor, and here were spent the remaining years of his life, except when his gubernatorial or legislative duties carried him to Annapolis. Mr. Grason was very much of a home man. Although he filled a number of public offices and showed a disposition to fill more, he nevertheless was happiest when amid home surroundings. He followed the rather unpretentious calling of a farmer; but in manners and in intellectual development he was as far from the common conception of the old-time farmer as "Log-cabin and Hard-cider" Harrison was from the things which were associated with his name in his presidential campaign.

In early years Mr. Grason had been a member of the federalist party, and in later years one of the arguments used against him as democratic candidate was the fact that he had been with the federalists in their opposition to the war of 1812–15. But the charge, although partly admitted, did not accomplish his defeat. Indeed, his ardent advocacy of the chief doctrines of President Jackson was able to overcome all doubts as to his right to appear

under a democratic standard. The two legislative tickets in Queen Anne's in 1828 were made up of Jackson and anti-Jackson candidates respectively. Upon the former was included the name of William Grason, and in the election this candidate received the greatest number of ballots of any of the members chosen to the lower house of the general assembly. In the following year he was again nominated, and once more outdistanced his fellow candidates. Mr. Grason was chosen an elector of state senators in 1831, and two years later he appeared as a candidate for nomination for congressman. When the democratic delegates of the several counties met to nominate a candidate, the Queen Anne's members were for Mr. Grason; but the other delegates gave preference to John T. Reese, of Kent, and the latter was named. Before the election, however, Dr. Reese, died, and another convention had to be called. Queen Anne's delegation had now deserted Mr. Grason, for Richard B. Carmichael, who was nominated and elected. Mr. Grason was the nominee for congress of the Jacksonian party in 1835, but was defeated by the whig candidate, James A. Pearce, who was elected by a majority of 123 ballots. Nothing daunted by his failure first to get the congressional nomination and then to win the election, Mr. Grason appeared in 1837 as a candidate for the state legislature, and received the greatest number of votes of the four successful candidates in his county.

The state constitution as amended by the reform act, provided that the governor should be chosen by the people instead of the legislature, after 1838; and the term was to be for three years, which had come to be the customary time in office of most governors elected under the one-year term provision. The state was divided into three gubernatorial districts: the Eastern Shore; Baltimore city and the southern counties; and Harford, Baltimore and the western

counties; and each of these districts was to have a turn in naming the candidates. In the spring of 1838 the democrats nominated William Grason for governor, while the whigs named John Nevett Steele, of Dorchester county, thus making the first popular gubernatorial candidates representatives of the Eastern Shore district. The contest was one of excessive bitterness and vilification, and throughout the campaign charges of dishonesty and fraud and corruption were lodged against anybody and everybody who chanced to get into the contest. Mr. Grason was elected by a scant majority of 311 votes in the entire state, and was inaugurated on January 7, 1839. But the legislature was slightly whiggish in complexion.

From inauguration day until his term expired, Governor Grason's voice gave expression to one endless jeremiad. First of all, the people of Maryland had engaged recklessly in appropriating public funds, which had to be raised by loans, for internal improvements, and they had never for a moment considered that there would come a time when both interest and principal would have to be paid. The people had known only a light taxation for the current expenses of the government, and the mere suggestion of imposing a tax for the purpose of taking care of the obligations thus unwisely incurred aroused the masses to a state of bitter opposition. As his initial greeting to the legislature Governor Grason took up what he said would be the problem demanding the general assembly's most earnest thought—Maryland's pecuniary embarrassment. He pointed out how the public debt had been increased, and how it promised to continue to grow unless a radical change of policy was made, and he called attention to the necessity of guarding against "an increase of existing evils, and of providing, if possible, for the gradual redemption of the public debt." He combated the arguments of those who favored repudiation rather

than tax an unwilling people, by declaring that the debt had "been contracted, and confirmed by successive legislatures sanctioned by the people themselves, in the continued reëlection of representatives who were most prominent in creating it, and the obligations of the state are in the hands of men who relied upon good faith, and whose borrowed money has been expended on her works. It is impossible to question the validity of the debt, and unreasonable to plead inability without first making an effort to discharge it."

There was no more unpleasant truth that Governor Grason could have uttered to the people of Maryland, who were seeking to devise some means by which to escape the large public debt which had been accumulated. When the people suggested that the national government turn over certain moneys obtained from public lands, he showed how unreasonable and unconstitutional such a course would be and advised that, instead of planning to escape their obligations, the people of Maryland should meet them bravely and promptly. In his message of December, 1840, Governor Grason sets forth in some detail the way in which the financial troubles then oppressing the state had been brought about, and also how they might in his opinion be removed. And finally, while the words in praise of the amended constitution, uttered by Governor Veazey, were still echoing through the state, Governor Grason made the rather melancholy observation that "No one can tell what the constitution is, or where it is to be found."

He repeatedly arraigned the whigs for the burden they had brought upon Maryland, and the fact that the legislature was whiggish never suggested to him the need of concealing his displeasure at the blunders of his political opponents. After his retirement on January 3, 1842, Mr. Grason returned to his Queen Anne's farm. In 1850, he was nomi-

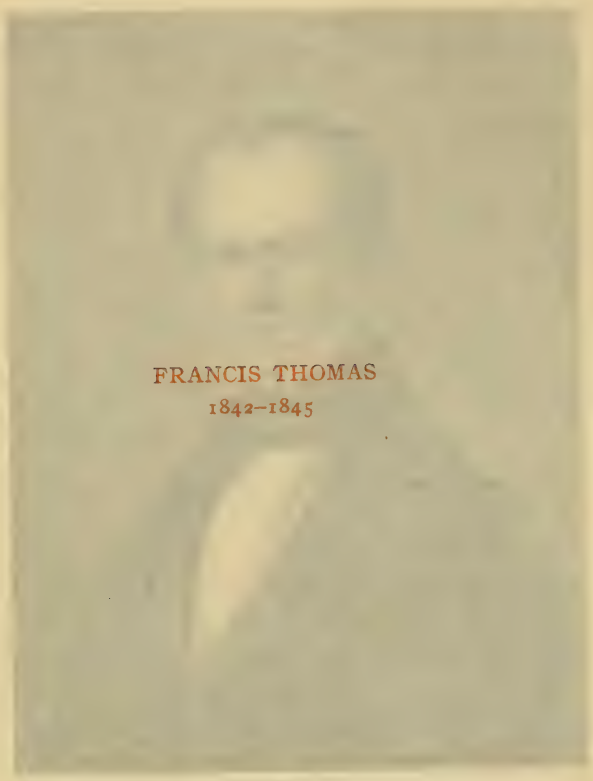
nated by the democrats of Queen Anne's for the constitutional convention and helped to frame the constitution of 1851. In that year, 1851, ex-Governor Grason was nominated for the state senate and he once more showed his popularity in his home county by polling more votes than any of the other candidates voted for at the election. Six years later he was again candidate for the upper house of the general assembly, but was defeated by the know-nothing nominee, Stephen J. Bradley. Queen Anne's county became much wrought up over the presidential campaign of 1860, and when Lincoln's election was announced, the countians began to discuss means of self-protection. How strongly the county was against the republican candidate is shown by the fact that Lincoln received not one vote in all Queen Anne's. A delegation was appointed by the county to take part in a conference of leading Marylanders, to be held in Baltimore in January, 1861, to determine what course Maryland should pursue in the "emergency," and Mr. Grason was one of this delegation. He was chosen president of the convention, but was unable to preside. Governor Grason was now getting well on in years, and his ill health prevented him from taking the active part in public affairs which he had taken when a young man. He spent the closing years of his life on his Queen Anne's farm, dying on July 2, 1868, at the age of eighty-two.

XXVI

FRANCIS THOMAS

Caesar, Brutus, Antony—each in turn sways the masses, and under the momentary spell of his influence what the people said and thought and did yesterday is made of no effect by what the same people say and think and do today. It has always been so; it is so now; and it ever will be so—public sentiment is as restless as a fluttering humming-bird. In the early part of the whig administration of Governor Veazey, a few senatorial electors sought, by somewhat revolutionary methods, to accomplish a reform for which three-fourths of the people were clamoring. But Mr. Veazey —really a representative of the remaining one-fourth— by a fine bit of strategy brought many of his political enemies to his support, and led the people generally in a charge upon the very leaders, who a short time before had been their champions. And Governor Veazey triumphed and was reëlected, while the once-favorite electors were labeled as revolutionists and dangerous men. This occurred in 1837–38; but just a few years later, 1841, the chief of the discredited leaders of the former revolt came before the people for their votes, offering neither justification nor apology for his earlier action, and straightway the masses flocked to his standard and made him governor of the state. With this election there entered the company of Maryland's chief magistrates one of the most remarkable men who has been honored by the commonwealth with public offices —Francis (or Frank) Thomas.

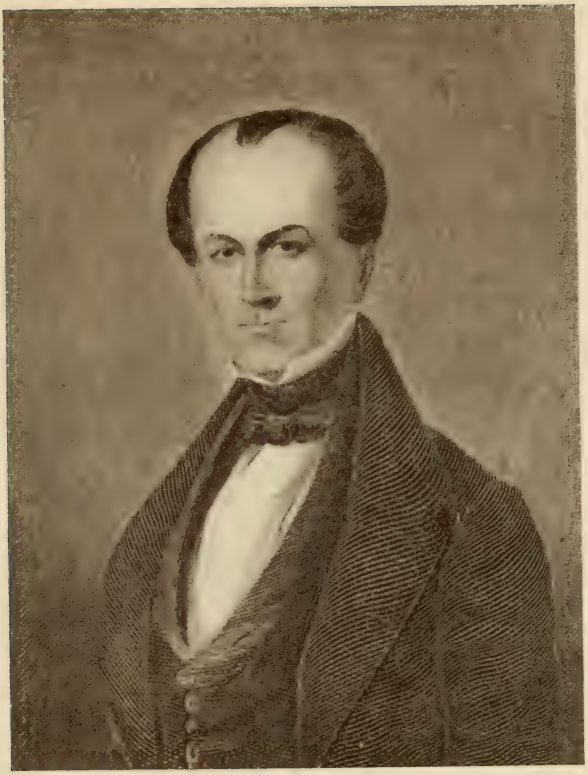
Francis Thomas was born in Frederick county on February 3, 1799, the seventh child of Francis and Nelly



FRANCIS THOMAS
1842–1845

XVII

FRANCIS THOMAS



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(Magill) Thomas. At the age of twelve he became a student at St. John's College, Annapolis, where he continued for some time, although he was not graduated. He later prepared himself for the legal profession and was admitted to the bar of Maryland in 1820. Mr. Thomas set up an office as a counselor-at-law at Frederick and succeeded in acquiring a large and profitable clientele in the Western Maryland counties. Just about two years after his admission to the bar he appeared as a democratic candidate for the house of delegates. Although the people of the western counties were perhaps inclined to the federalist, or whiggish, doctrines on most points, rather than to the democratic creed, it was at this time that some little importance was being attached to the question of readjusting the apportionment of representatives in the general assembly. The federalists were unfavorable to a policy which would regulate legislative representation according to the population, because that would give the cities too much power, while the democrats were advocates of just such a readjustment of representation. As Frederick county was one of the divisions which would profit most by a change in the apportionment, it readily fell into the democratic ranks. Francis Thomas was strongly, even violently, in favor of cutting down the existing power of the federalists, and he was elected a member of the house of delegates.

He again appeared as a candidate for the legislature in 1827 and in 1829 and was successful in both campaigns. During his last term in the house Mr. Thomas served as speaker and in the following year he was nominated for congress and elected. Four times thereafter did he come before the people of Western Maryland as a candidate for the house of representatives, and each time he was chosen to the coveted office. This gave him an unbroken service in the lower branch of the national legislature from December 5,

1831, when he took his seat, to March 3, 1841. During a short part of this time, from 1839 to 1840, Mr. Thomas was president of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company. It was also during his congressional career that he led the electors who revolted. The senatorial electoral college was made up at that time of 21 whigs and 19 democrats. Frederick county had instructed its members not to go into session for electing state senators unless the whigs would previously agree that at least 8 of the 15 senators to be chosen were men known to be favorable to constitutional reform. Congressman Thomas took charge of the democratic electors, but the plan miscarried and the men who had sought to carry out the people's wishes were labeled revolutionists and unsafe agitators. The movement, however, was succeeded by amendments to the constitution, reorganizing the executive and legislative departments of the government.

When the democratic state convention met in 1841 to nominate a candidate for governor to succeed William Grason, Francis Thomas was named. He was the second democratic gubernatorial nominee under the amended state constitution, and his opponent, according to the provision of the constitution which gave to each of the three gubernatorial districts of the state a turn in naming the candidates, also came from Western Maryland, or the northwestern district, and was William Cost Johnson. In the election Mr. Thomas was chosen governor by a majority of 621 votes. He was inaugurated at Annapolis on January 3, 1842—his term to continue for three years thereafter. Around this period of Thomas' career clusters the greatest activity of his life. First of all, his nomination was in every sense an opportunity for promotion, and the nominee regarded it as the biggest battle of his political career. He went into it with a vim and determination that were not

common, and he electioneered throughout the state. In Hagerstown he encountered William Price, a distinguished fellow member of the bar, and the pair had a heated discussion upon the political issues. The impetuosity of Governor Thomas is here somewhat revealed by the fact that as a result of a disagreement the candidate for governor felt called upon to engage his opponent in a duel.

Contemporaneous with Mr. Thomas' nomination, election, and inauguration as chief magistrate of Maryland were his ill-advised venture into matrimony, disturbed honeymoon and his rupture with his bride of a few weeks. The story of this domestic tragedy has been preserved in minute detail by Governor Thomas, who in a frenzy of anger published a pamphlet, in 1845, in which he laid bare with unpardonable brutality his relations with the woman who had been his wife. The unfortunate alliance had been the result of an unusual wooing between the Maryland statesman and Miss Sally McDowell, a daughter of Governor James McDowell, of Virginia. Miss McDowell was a girl of fifteen when Mr. Thomas, then a member of the house of representatives, met her in Washington, while he was thirty-seven years of age. In vindication of his subsequent conduct, when he later exposed every detail of his relations with the girl both as sweetheart and as wife, he sought to make it appear that he had been influenced into marrying her; such a defense, however, was altogether to his discredit. At all events, on June 8, 1841, when Mr. Thomas was forty-two he married Miss McDowell, aged twenty. But within a few days he began to entertain very uncomplimentary suspicions of his wife. He seems to have been constantly upbraiding her for either frivolity or greater offenses, and he was ever ready to demand that she return to her home until her old bachelor husband might become convinced that she was everything that he hoped. This mere sug-

gestion was as unusual as it was insulting, and yet Mr. Thomas never seemed to be able to understand why Mrs. Thomas would not comply with his demands. Finally her relatives came and took her under their protection, and then Mr. Thomas began a long struggle to regain possession of his wife. Subsequently, Mrs. Thomas obtained a divorce and became the wife of Reverend Mr. Miller, an esteemed Presbyterian minister of Philadelphia.

During the three years that Francis Thomas administered the affairs of the commonwealth he was, of course, laboring under the worry and cares that his estrangement had naturally imposed, but these trials did not cause him to shirk in the smallest degree the duties which his election had placed upon him. He appreciated the fact that the people of Maryland had chosen him as their governor, and he strove constantly and successfully to show himself a big enough man to act faithfully in that capacity, despite his domestic troubles and delusions. Governor Grason, who preceded him, had throughout this administration sounded warnings to the people that the course which public affairs had been permitted to take would terminate in financial disaster. Governor Thomas was likewise opposed to the reckless employment of state funds for private or semi-public enterprises and continued the work of lamenting where Mr. Grason had left off.

Governor Thomas acknowledged the endeavors of the immediately preceding administration to remedy existing evils, and yet he could only report that the means devised had proved inadequate. He suggested certain ways in which he believed that the burden which had been placed upon the state might be lightened and possibly eventually removed, and he did much toward saving the commonwealth from falling prey to the temptation of repudiation. The legislature, realizing that something had to be done to

prevent the enormous debt of the state from increasing further by the accumulation of arrear interest, levied a tax upon the people. But the people to a large extent refused to pay the tax. As the state was unable to pay interest on her bonds, Mr. Thomas suggested as a remedy, that the coupons upon state bonds be accepted as currency. This course was to work to advantage for the owner of bonds —who otherwise would have been compelled either to hold his coupons indefinitely or to sell them at a very great sacrifice—as it placed in his hands a reasonably good negotiable paper. At the same time it opened up for circulation in payment of public debts a large amount of governmental paper. But in 1842 Maryland was forced to suspend payment on its bonds, and this gave rise to a somewhat marked agitation for repudiation. Although neither Grason nor Thomas can be regarded as other than the most pronounced enemies of repudiation, it was not until the administration of Governor Pratt—the whig successor of Mr. Thomas—that the idea of repudiation was finally disposed of in Maryland and the state's creditors were given assurance that the commonwealth would honor her every obligation. Thomas, in his message to the legislature, asserted that "the debt of Maryland, however unwisely contracted, was created by the representatives of her people. This being the case, every principle of honor as well as of justice, makes it the imperious duty of the people to essay every effort to meet the obligations which their own agents have imposed."

Governor Thomas retired from the executive mansion on January 6, 1845, and then went to his Frederick county home, from which he issued a few weeks later his remarkable attack on Mrs. Thomas and her friends. He lived very much to himself for the remaining years of his life, which covered the rather long period from 1845 to 1876. At times

he was almost a recluse, but occasionally he took part in public affairs. Late in the forties he became an active advocate for constitutional reform and was elected a member of the convention which sat from November, 1850, to May, 1851, and devised the constitution of 1851. In this convention he fought with his old time fire for a more equitable apportionment of representation, and also combated the endeavors of the slave-holding counties to gain any additional power. But when his services here ended, he again sought retirement. It was not until the outbreak of hositilities in 1861 that he came into prominence again. He then raised a regiment of 3000 soldiers to fight for the north. Mr. Thomas was once more elected a member of the lower house of congress, in which body he served from 1863 to 1869. Although he had been a democrat till 1861, he now became a supporter of the republican party. He was active throughout the remaining years of the war, though, with the succession of Johnson after Lincoln's death, Mr. Thomas became an opponent of the "tailor" president.

Radical, even revolutionary, as Governor Thomas was as a leader, he rendered Maryland greater service, perhaps in republicanizing the form of government given the people than did any other state governor. His organization of the revolt in 1836, although it brought him into momentary disrepute, was the direct cause of the reform act, which made the governor and state senators the representatives of the people, instead of the representatives of the legislature and of the electoral college. He was largely responsible for the constitutional convention of 1850, and when he realized how far short that movement fell of its purposes he fought untiringly for a new convention. Upon his retirement from congress, Francis Thomas was appointed, in April, 1870, collector of internal revenue for the Cumberland dis-

trict. He resigned this position in March, 1872, to accept the post of minister to Peru. He remained in the South American republic until the summer of 1875, when he retired from public life and resumed his practice of the law in Western Maryland.

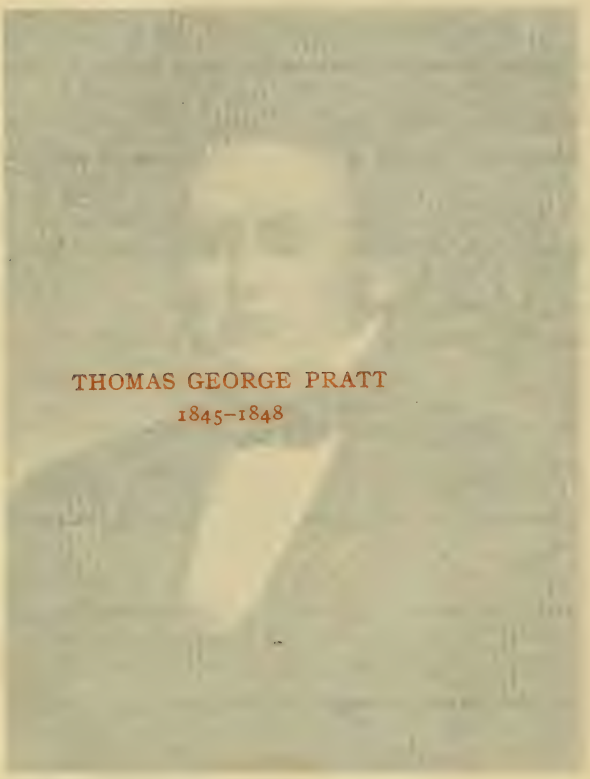
Mr. Thomas was much interested in his estate at Frankville and planned to make extensive improvements upon the place, which he purposed to occupy during the remaining years of his life. While superintending these improvements in the early part of the year 1876, Mr. Thomas was run down by a locomotive of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad near Frankville and instantly killed, January 23, 1876. Several days later he was buried in the cemetery belonging to St. Mark's Episcopal Church, near Petersville. Over the grave was erected a stone bearing the inscription which the deceased himself had penned for his tombstone: "The author of the measure which gave to Maryland the constitution of 1864 and thereby gave freedom to 90,000 human beings."

XXVII

THOMAS GEORGE PRATT

Greater men than Governor Pratt—more patriotic, more intellectual, more daring men—have been chief magistrates of Maryland doubtless, but not many, if any, outrival him in the homage paid by the people and the histories of the state to his memory. Of him it has been said—not once, but time and time again—that he did more than any other man to save proud old Maryland from the shame of repudiation. He appears in the light of one who discoursed to his fellow-statesmen upon the beauties, the peacefulness, the tranquillity of the path of virtue, and after closing his discourse took down the lash and vigorously, almost brutally, drove the people of the state into that path whose attractions he had extolled. It must, however, be admitted that the method he employed was in all probability the only one that would have been effective. But while Mr. Pratt is confessedly remembered for having reëstablished Maryland's credit, there was another transaction in his public life which, perhaps, did almost as much to secure his fame among his contemporaries: thereis, in deed, a possibility that although he was canonized in later years for his gubernatorial administration, his labor to redeem Maryland's honor was probably at times but a cloak under which lay the real cause of many people's affection—Governor Pratt's bold support of the Confederacy during the Civil War.

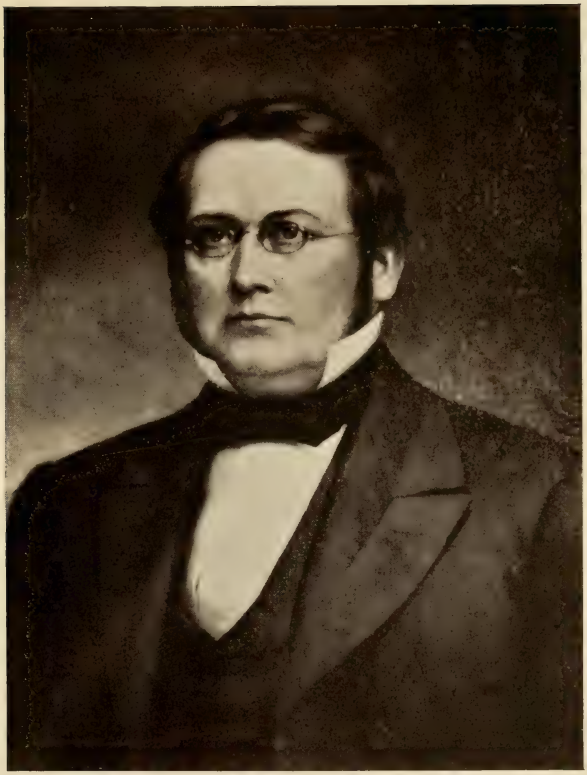
Thomas George Pratt was born in Georgetown, District of Columbia, on February 18, 1804. Although not a native of Maryland by birth, his ancestors had been prominent



THOMAS GEORGE PRATT
1845–1848

XXVII

THOMAS GEORGE PRATT



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residents of Prince George's county and in early manhood the future governor became a Marylander. His parents afforded him every opportunity to acquire a liberal education, and sent him, after the elementary courses had been completed, to Georgetown College and later to Princeton. He early determined to enter the legal profession, and while in the District of Columbia read law in the office of Richard S. Coxe. In 1823 he moved to Prince George's county, and subsequently practiced his profession in the town of Upper Marlboro. In taking up his residence in Prince George's, Mr. Pratt became a fellow-countian of Joseph Kent, who a few years later, in 1825, was chosen governor of Maryland. There sprang up an intimacy between the two men and between the younger man and the family of Governor Kent, particularly Miss Adelaide Kent; and the young lawyer firmly cemented the friendly relations of the two families by marrying Miss Kent. From the time of the marriage of the couple until the death of Governor Pratt, their home was famed for its hospitality and the character of the guests entertained at the family board.

Mr. Pratt made his debut as a legislator early in the thirties when in the closing years of George Howard's administration he was chosen a member of the house of delegates. He served in the lower branch of the legislature from 1832 to 1835. He was a member of the state electoral college of 1836, that famous body in which occurred the revolt of the "glorious 19" democrats. In the same year he was named as president of the governor's council and continued in the council during the administration of Governor Veazey. In 1837 he appeared as a presidential elector and cast his vote for Martin Van Buren.

At the close of his service as president of the governor's council, Mr. Pratt was elected to the Maryland senate and remained in that body consecutively from 1838 to 1843.

This was a critical period in Maryland's history and the men who sat in the legislative halls at Annapolis were closely watched by the voters of the state. The various sections of the state were greatly agitated because of the gloomy financial outlook. Maryland was burdened with debt and there was not sufficient money which which to pay the interest on that debt, let alone any attempt to diminish the amount of indebtedness. Taxes had been levied, but the governmental officials had been unable to collect them, and throughout the commonwealth was talk of repudiation. Mr. Pratt, during the period that he sat in the state senate, had shown himself a man with decided views upon the subject of repudiation with courage to express his views. He was decidedly the strongest candidate whom the whigs could find in the middle gubernatorial district in 1844 and the convention placed his name at the head of its state ticket. The democrats named James Carroll, of Baltimore. Mr. Pratt's demand in the campaign was that the state should pay its debt, and upon this he won the election for his party, though by a narrow majority of 548 votes. It must not be supposed that Governor Pratt alone reëstablished Maryland's credit, as is sometimes intimated. There were many men in the state equally zealous of Maryland's honor, but circumstances favored him. For instance, both William Grason and Francis Thomas—Pratt's immediate predecessors—were as firm as he in declaring that the people must pay their debts; but while they administered the affairs of the commonwealth business was at a standstill and currency almost out of circulation: when Governor Pratt reëstablished the state's credit business had improved and money was easier. In his first message to the legislature he asserted: "From an abundant harvest now at hand this is the time to pay our debts."

This change from commercial stagnation to business prosperity was an enormous factor in favor of saving Mary-

land from the temptation of repudiation, although with a chief executive of less firmness than Mr. Pratt the commonwealth, despite its prosperity, might still have neglected the unloved state debts. But even after deducting from Governor Pratt's account the excess credit which has occasionally been accorded him, there remains enough to give him distinction among the statesmen who have made history in Maryland. He was inaugurated governor on January 6, 1845, and his term expired on January 3, 1848. During these three years he was untiring in his endeavors to have Maryland resume her interest payments, which had been passed continuously since 1842, and within a few days of his retirement from the gubernatorial office the state did resume these payments. Under his administration the taxes were collected, for whether the people favored repudiation or not made little difference to the determined governor, who charged Maryland's failure in 1842 to pay her maturing obligations to the neglect of governmental officials in the matter of enforcing the laws.

During Governor Pratt's administration occurred the Mexican War, and he promptly declared that "the sons of Maryland have always obeyed the call of patriotism and duty, and will now sustain the honor of the state." His prophecy was fulfilled. His governorship also witnessed much difficulty regarding an enforcement of the law regulating slave property, and this, perhaps, more than anything else, made Pratt the whig over into the democratic Pratt of later years. Several slaves had escaped frm Maryland into Pennsylvania and the governor made out requisitions upon the executive of the Quaker state for their return, but the governor of Pennsylvania refused in both cases to gratify the demand, and accompanied one of his refusals with the opinion of the attorney-general of that state, declaring that the act of the general assembly of Maryland of 1838 was deemed unconstitutional by the authorities of Pennsylvania.

Somewhat later other slaves escaped into Pennsylvania and their owners went thither and under a provision of an act of congress proved their property and started for Maryland when they were set upon by residents of the Quaker state, the slaves released and in the conflict one of the Marylanders—Mr. Kennedy—was killed. Finally a negro owned by Alexander Somerville, of Calvert county, attempted to kill his master and then fled into Pennsylvania, where he was arrested, and, after a protracted trial before a Philadelphia court, ordered delivered to the Maryland authorities. But immediately a writ of habeas corpus was issued by some other tribunal than that before which the case had been tried and the criminal was rescued by the populace. These several violations of the law concerning slave property made Governor Pratt an uncompromising supporter of slavery.

After his retirement from the executive mansion Mr. Pratt resumed his law practice in Annapolis. He had taken up his residence permanently in the state capital, having purchased the colonial residence of Governor Ogle. He was not, however, permitted to remain in private life for any great length of time. Reverdy Johnson had accepted the portfolio of attorney-general of the United States from President Taylor on March 8, 1849, and consequently resigned his seat in the United States senate. The legislature of the state named Mr. Pratt as Senator Johnson's successor for the remaining year of his term and also elected him for a full term of six years additional. He took his seat in the upper house of congress on January 4, 1850, and continued there until March 3, 1857. During these seven years he represented his state with credit and honor, though his senatorial career was not marked with such noteworthy distinction as his gubernatorial administration. The whig party had now passed from national politics, and in 1856 John C. Fremont appeared as the first presidential

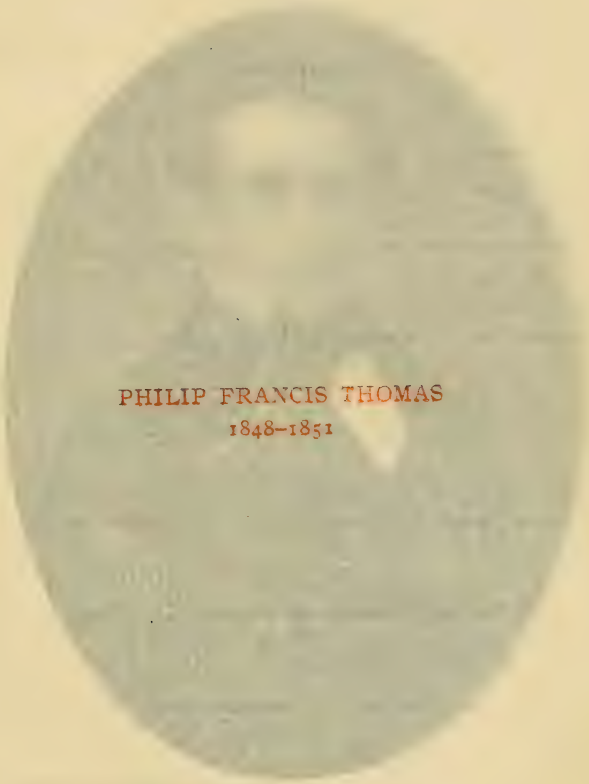
nominee of the republicans, while James Buchanan was the democratic standard-bearer. Mr. Pratt supported the latter, and was even more radical than Buchanan in his attitude toward the question of slavery and secession. Indeed, at the outbreak of hostilities between north and south, Governor Pratt was regarded with considerable fear by the governmental officials, and was arrested in 1861 and held a prisoner at Fort Monroe for several weeks. Although he did not join the secession forces himself, he gave to the confederate army his moral support throughout the contest and the services of his son.

After the expiration of his congressional service, in 1857, Mr. Pratt returned to his Annapolis home, where he remained until 1864, when he took up his residence in Baltimore. In 1864 he was a delegate to the Chicago national convention, and in 1866 he attended the union convention at Philadelphia as a delegate. He appeared as a candidate for the United States senate in 1867, but received only meager support in the election which resulted in the selection of William T. Hamilton. This was about his last public appearance of note, and two years later, on November 9, 1869, he died at his home in Baltimore.

XXVIII

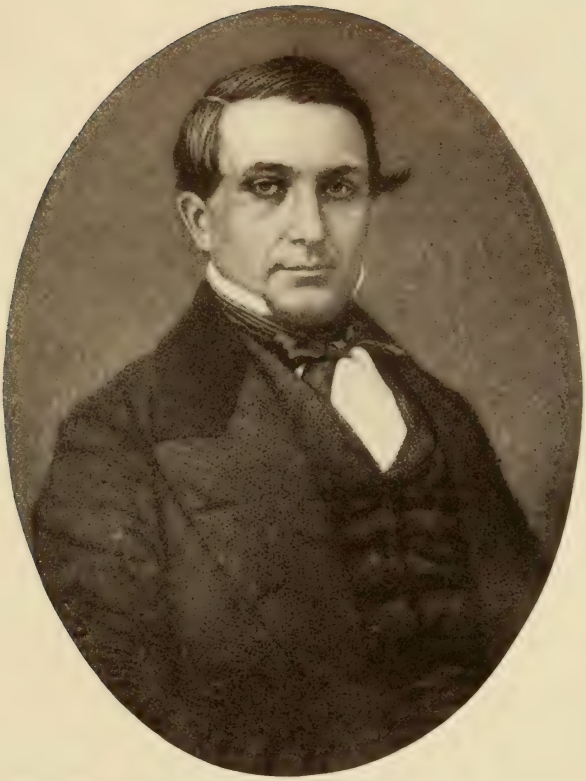
PHILIP FRANCIS THOMAS

Among some of the less advanced peoples a man's vocation is determined hereditarily, and as a consequence there has sprung up a powerful system of caste founded upon occupation. A butcher is not tempted to squander his money sending his boy to college, for the inevitable law of the land is that the son must be a butcher also; and the daughter of a baker is not prompted to make personal sacrifices because of social ambitions—she is destined by a barbarian, though not unwise, law to remain in the baker class. A parallel of this custom is found in many of the more civilized countries of the world, although the system of heredity there is more arbitrary in certain professions than in the business calling of the offspring. In America the religious persuasions and the political faith of the sire are reflected in the son. A Methodist brings up a Methodist, a Baptist rears a household of little Baptists. So far this is natural and harmless. But when the son is a republican because his father is, or when a youth becomes an adherent of democracy for no other reason than that his parent votes the democratic ticket, there is ground for suspicion that the younger citizen selects his political creed sentimentally rather than intellectually. This phase of heredity has become so thoroughly imbued in the national mind that there is invariably a raising of the eyebrows when the son of a republican joins the ranks of the democrats, or *vice versa*. Bearing this in mind, and with it the fact that seventy-five or a hundred years ago there was in many sections of Maryland



PHILIP FRANCIS THOMAS
1848–1851

PHILIP FRANCIS THOMAS



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a social distinction between the two leading political parties, it seems very surprising, indeed, that the son of a well-connected Talbot county federalist should have adopted the cause of democracy in that district of aristocracy. But the conversion of Governor Thomas when a young man to democracy was only a promise of even more surprising spectacles to which he should treat his fellow-countians in after years.

Philip Francis Thomas was born at Easton, Talbot county, on September 12, 1810. His father, Dr. Tristram Thomas, practiced medicine on the Eastern Shore for more than fifty years; his mother before her marriage had been Miss Maria Francis. Young Thomas was early entered at the academy at Easton, where he received his elementary schooling. Later he was sent to Carlisle, Pa., where he became a student at Dickinson College. For two years he labored at Dickinson, sometimes over his books and at other times striving to concoct schemes whereby he might relieve his high-strung spirits. The detection, however, of one of his youthful indiscretions resulted in his suspension from Dickinson, and he returned to Easton. He then became a law student in the office of William Hayward, and in November, 1831, was admitted to the bar. It was not long before Mr. Thomas began to make a name for himself as an attorney. He was, however, regarded by both relatives and friends as a man of most erratic temperament, because he did not pursue the precepts which others laid down for him arbitrarily, and occasionally dealt fogyism and excess-respectability some rather telling blows. His father had been an ardent federalist, and upon the death of the federalist party he became an even more ardent whig. Nearly all the other Thomases were of like political conviction. And Talbot county, the home place of the Thomases, was not only whig, but overwhelmingly whig.

When Philip Francis Thomas declared himself a democrat, consternation spread through the social circles in which his relatives moved. Not only did it appear to the whiggish friends that he had committed a grave blunder, but they felt convinced that he could never thereafter hope for any official recognition from the people, when ultimately he should seek admission to the fold of the whig party. But Mr. Thomas had no intention of recanting. He pulled together the fragments of a party which in Talbot county responded to the name democracy and he ran for the legislature in 1834, and was defeated badly. But his defeat accomplished nothing in the way of taming the youth. Two years later, in 1836, he again appeared as a candidate and had the audacity to espouse the movement for a constitutional convention which should accomplish a reapportionment of the state. Nothing could have been selected to arouse the ire of the Talbot countians more, and as an evidence of the people's displeasure Mr. Thomas received 200 votes less than his opponent. The following year he disregarded the advice of his counselors and again ran for office, and this time was defeated by only 17 votes. At this time the state constitution was so amended as to make the election of governor a matter for direct vote by the people. Thomas was a delegate to the democratic convention which met in Baltimore in 1838 and nominated William Grason for governor, and Mr. Thomas boldly pledged Talbot county to Mr. Grason, and carried out his pledge. In Talbot the democratic gubernatorial candidate received a majority of 130 votes, while Mr. Thomas, who was a candidate for the legislature, had 190 majority.

This final success as a legislative candidate moved Mr. Thomas to attempt greater things, and he became the nominee of the democratic party for congress in 1839, run-

ning against James Alfred Pearce, the Kent county whig, who had been representing the district in the national legislature since 1831. The democrat's candidacy was at first treated as a jest by the whigs and not a few members of Mr. Thomas' own party, but the morning after election revealed the startling fact that the whigs carried only one county, Kent, while the congressional district gave Mr. Thomas a majority of 188 votes.

Mr. Thomas was appointed a member of the committee on elections shortly after his entrance into the national legislature. The contested election cases before the committee at that time were so engrossing that the members were excused from attending the meetings of the house and spent all their time taking testimony. While the services performed by the Talbot county congressman in this connection were important, they were not of a character to make for him much reputation as a parliamentarian or a legislator. At the close of his term as representative, Congressman Thomas was renominated by his party, but declined to enter the campaign, and Mr. Pearce, the whig, was elected without opposition. Mr. Thomas resumed his law practice, though later he accepted the office of judge of the land office court for the Eastern Shore. In 1843 he was prevailed upon to become a candidate for the house of delegates, and was elected. In the state legislature he proved himself a powerful foe of those who sought to deceive the people regarding the state's finances.

In 1845 Mr. Thomas once more appeared as the candidate for the state legislature and was elected. He served with such signal success in the session of 1846 that his name was generally mentioned as the prospective democratic nominee for governor long before the time set for state conventions. At the democratic state convention,

June 24, 1847, Mr. Thomas received the nomination for governor. William Tilghman Goldsborough was the nominee of the whig party. The whigs charged Mr. Thomas, who had been a strong advocate of paying the public debt, with being favorable to repudiation, and hoped thereby to accomplish his defeat. But the democrat frankly met the charge and explained to the voters every feature of his course in matters of both internal improvement legislation and the state's debts. The election was held on October 6, 1847; but all the returns were not received until the fifth day thereafter, and then it was learned that Mr. Thomas had been chosen by a majority of 709 votes.

Of the many noteworthy features of Thomas' administration, the most important one, perhaps, was the resumption by the state of interest payments upon bonds. This occurred just about the time that Governor Pratt's term closed, and chief credit is due to the retiring executive, although Thomas had been active in working for the resumption of these payments. With his induction into office Governor Thomas started a campaign for constitutional reform, and in his inaugural address on January 3, 1848, he pointed out the defects in the seventy-year-old constitution under which Marylanders were then living, and stressed the need of calling a convention to devise a new instrument for government. During the closing months of his three-year term as governor such a convention was held, and it completed its work in the first year of the administration of Governor Thomas' successor.

Under the new constitution there was created the office of comptroller, and after the close of Thomas' administration, in 1851, he was chosen as the first incumbent of this office. Early in the fifties Franklin Pierce was elected president of the United States, and immediately after his inauguration began his endeavors to coax Mr. Thomas into accepting

some office under him. He first offered Mr. Thomas the portfolio of the navy, but the latter declined it for the reason that the salary was insufficient to maintain the dignity of the position, and he had no private income to help it out. President Pierce became insistent that Governor Thomas accept some federal patronage in the shape of an office, and the latter finally consented to become the collector of customs of the port of Baltimore, for which purpose he resigned as comptroller of the state in 1853. At the close of the Pierce administration, when President Buchanan appointed a new collector of Baltimore, Mr. Thomas went west to try his fortune in the land of golden promise. He took up his residence in St. Louis and began the practice of law there, but was unable to become reconciled to his absence from Maryland. During the Mormon war President Buchanan invited him to become governor of the territory of Utah, and when he declined the president proffered him the post of treasurer of the United States, but again Mr. Thomas refused. Finally he was invited to serve as commissioner of patents, and accepted the office on February 16, 1860. In December of the same year, when Howell Cobb resigned the portfolio of the treasury, President Buchanan prevailed upon Mr. Thomas to become Cobb's successor, and he was secretary of the treasury for one month, entering the cabinet on December 10, 1860, and retiring therefrom on January 11 1861.

Governor Thomas' sympathies were with the south during the war, although he spent the years of conflict in the practice of his profession in Talbot county. He had while governor advised the legislature "to make the solemn declaration in advance of the unalterable determination of this state, in case of the passage of the 'Wilmot proviso' or any similar scheme, to make common cause with the south." When the sectional conflict finally began, he

did not join the warring elements, but, like Governor Pratt, permitted his son to enlist in the Confederate army. At the close of hostilities, Mr. Thomas appeared as a candidate for the state legislature in 1866, and was elected. This session was called upon to elect a successor to John A. J. Creswell in the United States senate. Governor Swann was chosen, but declined to serve; and the general assembly then elected Mr. Thomas. He had always been desirous of representing his state in the upper house of congress, and when he was chosen senator, on March 12, 1867, his ambition seemed about to be realized. But congress was then dominated by the most radical of the south-hating republicans, and Governor Thomas was refused admission on the ground of "having given aid and comfort to the rebellion." He was constitutionally eligible, and the judiciary committee of the senate reported favorably upon his credentials, but by a vote of 27 to 20 he was refused permission to enter the senate chamber. The technical charge against the senator-elect was that he had supplied his son with clothing and money, and that son had fought with the Confederate forces. There was a disposition among Mr. Thomas' friends to reëlect him United States senator, but he discountenanced the proposal and advised that a successor be chosen who would be acceptable. It was especially desirable at this time to fill the vacancy, as the trial of President Johnson was under way and every possible democratic vote was needed in his behalf. Consequently, on March 6, 1868, George Vickers, of Kent county, was elected to the senate and he took his seat in time to vote at the trial of Johnson.

In 1874 Mr. Thomas was a successful congressional candidate and took his seat in 1875, just 35 years after the termination of his first term in the house of representatives. He was in the lower house of congress until

1877, and the next year was chosen to represent Talbot county in the state legislature. Governor Thomas appeared as a candidate for the United States senate again in 1877 and 1884, but Governor Groome and Ephraim E. Wilson respectively defeated him in the caucuses. He presided at the state convention in 1883, when Robert M. McLane was nominated for governor, and was chosen a member of the Maryland legislature in the elections of that year.

Governor Thomas died in Baltimore, where he had gone for medical treatment, on October 2, 1890, in his eighty-first year. He was survived by the second Mrs. Thomas, who had been Mrs. Clintonia May, widow of Captain May of the United States navy, and daughter of Governor Wright, of Maryland. His first wife, to whom he was married in 1835, was Miss Sarah Maria Kerr.

XXIX

ENOCH LOUIS LOWE

On the morn of the Civil War, when Maryland was torn asunder by the divided sentiment of her people, a native poet wrote a patriotic hymn which has since become almost a classic. His heart was with the southland; his plea was for the cause of the so-called cotton states; and his purpose was to stir the passion of Marylanders so that they would rally to the support of the Confederacy. In the song with which James R. Randall sought to rouse the people of Maryland he dwelt upon the glory of the state's particular heroes; and no more convincing proof of the esteem in which Governor Lowe was then held by his fellow-statesmen can be found, than that his name was one of those used by the poet in order to stir the people's hearts:

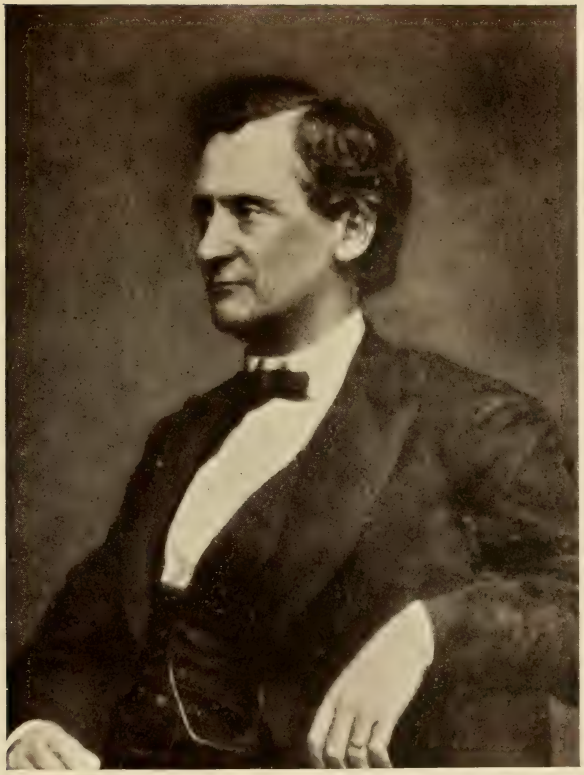
Come! 't is the red dawn of the day,
Maryland! My Maryland!
Come! with thy panoplied array,
Maryland! My Maryland!
With Ringgold's spirit for the fray,
With Watson's blood at Monterey,
With fearless Lowe and dashing May,
Maryland! My Maryland!

In the story of Maryland's part in the war several men who had earlier served as governor occupy positions of importance. Some of these former state executives were with the south; at least one was in sympathy with the north; but none excelled, and it is doubtful if any equalled Mr. Lowe in devotion to the cause which each espoused. Mr. Grason, the first popularly elected governor, was an



XVIII

ENOCH LOUIS LOWE



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ardent supporter of slavery and a friend of the south. His successor, Francis Thomas, was one of the bitterest opponents of the Confederacy. The next two governors—Thomas G. Pratt and Philip Francis Thomas—were sentimentally inclined toward the southern cause and, although neither took part in the conflict, each gave to the Confederate army the service of a son. Mr. Lowe, the last governor under the constitution of 1776, went further than any of his immediate predecessors. When the war began, he took his way to the southland, and there gave moral and material support to the Confederacy. If secession was rebellion, then he was one of the most violent rebels who came out of Maryland; and the final defeat of the southern cause brought a sorrow to his heart which never thereafter left it.

Enoch Louis Lowe, born August 10, 1820, was the son of Lieutenant Bradley S. A. and Adelaide (Vincendiere) Lowe; Lieutenant Lowe was a graduate of West Point Academy. The early years of the governor were passed at the beautiful family estate, The Hermitage, a tract of 1000 acres in Frederick county upon the Monocacy river. He attended St. John's School in Frederick City, and later, at the age of thirteen, was sent abroad to complete his studies. He was entered at Clongowas Wood College, near Dublin, and subsequently studied at the Roman Catholic College of Stonyhurst, where he continued for three years. After completing his academic studies, 1839, Mr. Lowe made an extensive tour of Europe, and upon his return to America traveled about the states for a year before returning home to take up seriously the work of life. He then became a student of law under Judge Lynch, of Frederick, and in 1842, at the age of twenty-one was admitted to the bar.

Although Mr. Lowe formed a law partnership with John W. Baughman at Frederick, and gave much thought to

building up for himself a reputation in his chosen profession, he did not for long keep a single eye to the law, but early evinced a desire for a part in the political affairs of his section. In 1845 he appeared as a candidate on the democratic ticket for the state legislature, and his campaign resulted in two things—his election to the house of delegates and the winning of more than a little reputation as an able stump speaker. Mr. Lowe became prominent as an advocate for constitutional reform in Maryland and through this advocacy his fame had spread so far by 1850 that, when the democratic state convention met in that year, he was chosen upon a "reform" platform as the standard-bearer of his party. The whigs nominated for governor William B. Clarke, of Washington county, and the two aspirants for the gubernatorial chair had several public debates during the campaign. Mr. Lowe's personal popularity in Baltimore won for him the election. His majority throughout the state was just 1492 votes, but Baltimore—which gave a whig candidate for mayor a majority of 777 votes—gave Mr. Lowe, the democratic gubernatorial candidate, a majority of 2759.

Mr. Lowe was but twenty-nine years old when nominated for governor, although he satisfied the constitutional requirement by arriving at the age of thirty before election day. Much was made of his youth, and upon one occasion a would-be detractor interrupted him while he was making a speech by asking: "How old are you?" But the democratic candidate flashed back the magnificent reply: "A wife and four children." He had been married, May 29, 1844, to Miss Esther Winder Polk, daughter of Colonel James Polk, of Princess Anne. Mrs. Lowe bore her husband eleven children, seven of whom with the mother survived the governor.

Governor Lowe was inaugurated January 6, 1851, and

continued in office until January 11, 1854. His administration, therefore, witnessed the change in the state government from the old constitution of 1776 to the constitution of 1851. At a special election in May, 1850, the people of Maryland had declared for a constitutional convention, and at an election held in the following September delegates to this convention were chosen. The body thus elected was only slightly whiggish in complexion, and the document it devised—during its session from November 4, 1850, to May 13, 1851—was largely made up of compromises between the two opposing elements. The greatest gain for the people was that the constitution of 1776, burdened with amendment upon amendment, was superseded by a governmental document that at least expressed clearly the things that it treated. Before the proposed constitution could be fully digested by the people, it was placed before them for ratification, and was given a small majority at a special election on June 4, 1851.

During Governor Lowe's administration the state fully recovered from the financial depression that had resulted some years earlier in the advocacy of repudiation of public debts. Governor Thomas, who preceded Mr. Lowe, had warned the people against reducing the amount of taxation, and declared that such a reduction, despite the cheerful outlook, would be a dangerous step. But Governor Lowe boldly advised the very thing against which Mr. Thomas had warned, and in 1853 the people of Maryland were required to pay but 15 cents on the $100, whereas in the several years prior thereto the annual tax rate for the state had been 25 cents. Another notable feature of the Lowe administration was the completion of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad to the Ohio river, which, according to the original plans of the promoters, was to have been the western terminus of the line.

During the administration of Mr. Lowe, General Kossuth, the Hungarian patriot, visited America and was the guest of Maryland's chief magistrate for several days. Although Mr. Lowe was heartily in sympathy with the foreigner and the cause he represented, he was unable to accord either any aid from the state government. Mr. Lowe was named as minister extraordinary and plenipotentiary to China by President Pierce, but declined the post.

After the close of his administration Mr. Lowe assumed a much more prominent rôle in national politics than he had taken before his governorship. He became one of the great figures among those who took up the cause of the south, not for office nor for personal advantage, but solely because of a love for the land and the people south of the Mason and Dixon Line. He helped to win for Buchanan the democratic nomination for president in 1856, and was active in the campaign which resulted in Buchanan's election. Mr. Lowe was active in the presidential campaign of 1860, supporting John C. Breckinridge even more heartily than he had supported Buchanan.

When the war began, Mr. Lowe remained in Baltimore long enough to serve the south to the fullest extent of his ability in his native state. He was a man without fear, and what he did, he did openly. While others tried to evade answering the question as to their allegiance, Governor Lowe stood up fearlessly for the cause of the south. Later he went to Virginia, where he became the guest of honor of the legislature of the Old Dominion. His address delivered before the legislature was regarded by that body as of sufficient moment to warrant its publication and distribution by the state.

Governor Lowe wanted Maryland to secede, and he believed that the state would ultimately join the Confederacy. "God knows," he declared, "Marylanders love the

the sunny south as dearly as any son of the Palmetto State. They idolize the chivalric honor, the stern and refined idea of free government, the social dignity and conservatism which characterize the southern mind and heart, as enthusiastically as those of their southern brethren who were born where the snows never fall." He was bitter in his denunciations of Mr. Hicks who "had purposely left her [Maryland] in a defenseless condition, in order that he might without peril to himself deliver her up at the suitable time to be crucified and receive his thirty pieces of silver as the price of his unspeakable treachery."

Mr. Lowe spent the greater part of his voluntary exile in the south in Augusta and in Milledgeville, Georgia. After the war Governor Lowe returned to Maryland, where he lived from November, 1865, until May, 1866, when he moved with his family to New York. It was not only the iron-clad oath—which his self-respect would not permit him to take—that sent Mr. Lowe out of his native state; but Baltimore at that time did not seem to offer him the means of supporting his large family by his professional work in the way that he was accustomed to providing for it. He had lost heavily through the war, and in Brooklyn, where he was to take up his residence, he saw a large enough field for practice to insure him a considerable income. His leaving Baltimore with his family to go to a strange city is but another evidence of the wonderful courage of the man.

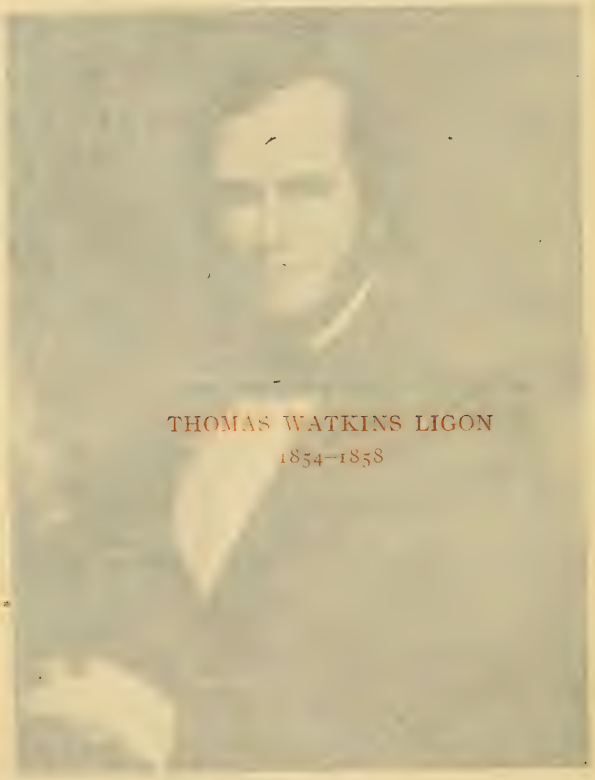
For some time after removing to New York, Mr. Lowe was in much demand as a lecturer. He was several times solicited to enter the political circles of the Empire state. Except for his brief activity in the Hancock-Garfield campaign, however, he remained in comparative retirement. He was for a while counsel of the Erie Railroad Company, but upon the death of James Fiske this relationship was dissolved.

A newspaper correspondent, writing from Brooklyn at the time of Governor Lowe's death, asserted that he had "lived a very retired life, and outside of the immediate circle of his family friends was hardly ever seen or heard of. It was often regretted here that Mr. Lowe did not take the public place his abilities and career warranted, but he seemed to care only for the peace and quiet of his family and home, and thus occupied himself out of the sight and bustle of the busy world." Governor Lowe died on August 23, 1892, at St. Mary's Hospital, where he had undergone an operation which proved unsuccessful. His body was removed to Frederick, and was privately interred on August 25, Governor Lowe having requested that no funeral sermon be preached at his burial.



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THOMAS WATKINS LIGON



THOMAS WATKINS LIGON
1854–1858

XXX

THOMAS WATKINS LIGON

Although the contemporaries of a historical personage cannot arbitrarily impose upon posterity their own estimates of his character, they generally can shape the opinions of other men by erecting historical guideposts which point in the direction of their own opinion. Here, then, is a key to the enigma of Governor Ligon's position in the hall of fame of Maryland. In the days of his governorship the body politic had forgotten that it ever had been virtuous and seemed fairly to glory in its vileness. To teach an infant nation to be pure in its political affairs would have been mere child's play compared to the task of reforming the state's dominant political force, or even of convicting it of wickedness. Yet Mr. Ligon fearlessly undertook this labor, and for this his glory should have been great. But he was a man without the frills and ruffles of the conventional type of early state executives, and his homespun methods proved offensive to many of his contemporaries.

Thomas Watkins Ligon is one of the several native Virginians who have served Maryland as governor. The son of Thomas D. Ligon, and the grandson on his maternal side of Col. Thomas Watkins, of Revolutionary fame, he was born in 1812 in Prince Edward county, Virginia. His father, a farmer, died when the governor was a lad, and upon the mother devolved the responsibility of providing for her two sons. After completing his primary studies, Thomas Ligon was sent to Hampden-Sidney College, from which he was graduated with distinction. He then entered

the University of Virginia and later attended Yale Law School, where he prepared for the profession which he had determined to pursue. Upon his return to Virginia, he was examined for admission to the bar and authorized to practice law; but the home county of Mr. Ligon did not present many inducements for an ambitious lawyer, and the young man began to look about for a promising town in which to open an office. In 1833, at the age of twenty-one, he came to Baltimore, where in a very modest way he made it known that he was bent upon practicing law and desired clients.

In 1840 Thomas Ligon was married to Miss Sallie Dorsey, of that portion of Baltimore county which later was included in Howard county, and thereafter he had his residence at Ellicott's Mill—now known as Ellicott City—although he continued his law practice in Baltimore. Mr. Ligon's wife was a daughter of Charles Worthington Dorsey, and after her death the governor was married to Mary Tolly Dorsey, another daughter of the Marylander, and a sister to the first Mrs. Ligon. Several years after his first marriage Mr. Ligon made his initial appearance as an office-seeker. He had been invited in 1841 to accept the nomination for member of the legislature, but declined the honor. Two years later, however, he consented to become a candidate and was elected. Mr. Ligon's success prompted his fellow-democrats to nominate him in 1844 as the party's candidate for congress, to which body he was elected by a fair majority, which was somewhat increased two years later when he appeared for reëlection. He was a member of the twenty-ninth and thirtieth congresses, serving from December 1, 1845, to March 3, 1849.

Early in the fifties there came into being the know-nothing, party which, though short-lived, was very strong in Maryland. In the gubernatorial campaign of 1853 the

know-nothing party nominated Richard J. Bowie, of Montgomery county; the democrats named as standard-bearer ex-Congressman Ligon. The election was bitterly contested and, although Mr. Ligon was chosen by a small majority, the opponents of the democrats were given a considerable majority in both the state senate and the house of delegates. When Mr. Ligon, therefore, was inaugurated governor of Maryland, on January 11, 1854, he was well aware of the fact that the executive department, if it pursued a partisan course, would be pitted against the legislative branch of the government. Knowing, as he did, the great odds against him upon a partisan vote, and also realizing how bitterly the know-nothing party, with its aim at secrecy, would defend its position against any hostile demonstration from the almost helpless state executive, the new governor nevertheless, almost immediately after his assumption of the executive duties, began his war upon his political enemies.

The antagonism of Governor Ligon to the know-nothing party did not bear immediate fruit. In the state election of 1855—the year following his inauguration—the know-nothing candidates won a complete victory, and for several years thereafter they ruled the state, though in much the same way that bandits govern a wild or desert country. In time, however, the labor of Governor Ligon began to show results, and a reform movement, which had as its object the casting off of the yoke of ruffian rule, made its appearance, and once more political affairs in the state were separated from crime. When Governor Ligon in his message of January, 1856, called the attention of the legislature to the existence of a secret political organization founded upon religious prejudice, and warned them of the dangers of politics based on race or sect, the general assembly appointed a committee to investigate the charges. Although the

majority of this committee refused to serve, because it thought such an investigation would be an insult to the intelligence of a large majority of the people, the minority reported: "That there arose in this state and country within the last two or three years a political society * * * binding its members by forms of oaths to proscribe from all offices by their votes or otherwise, if possessed of political power, all persons not of native birth, and all members of the Catholic religion."

The stronghold of the know-nothing party was in Baltimore, where for several years the members of this organization ran things in a reckless way. The voters of other political faith were intimidated, waylaid, and even killed, so that election day became a time for ruffian warfare. At the presidential election of 1856, eight men were killed or mortally wounded, while more than 250 people were reported wounded. And as an indication of the extent to which ruffianism succeeded in disfranchising by force those holding opposite views, the sworn returns in the Baltimore election of 1857 record 11,896 know-nothing votes to 2830 democratic ballots, or a majority of 9066; whereas in the previous election for mayor the know-nothing party had been given a majority of but 1567 ballots.

The know-nothing leaders had over-estimated their ability to block the governor's endeavors to free the commonwealth from its burden of ruffianism. They were able to oppose Mr. Ligon in the legislature, and never thought that he would step outside of the conventional office of chief magistrate and assume the position of actual executive of the entire state. The outcome of the city election of Baltimore in 1857 caused Governor Ligon much uneasiness regarding the state election which was to be held shortly thereafter. He went to Baltimore, and on October 27, 1857, wrote Mayor Swann a letter inviting him to coöperate

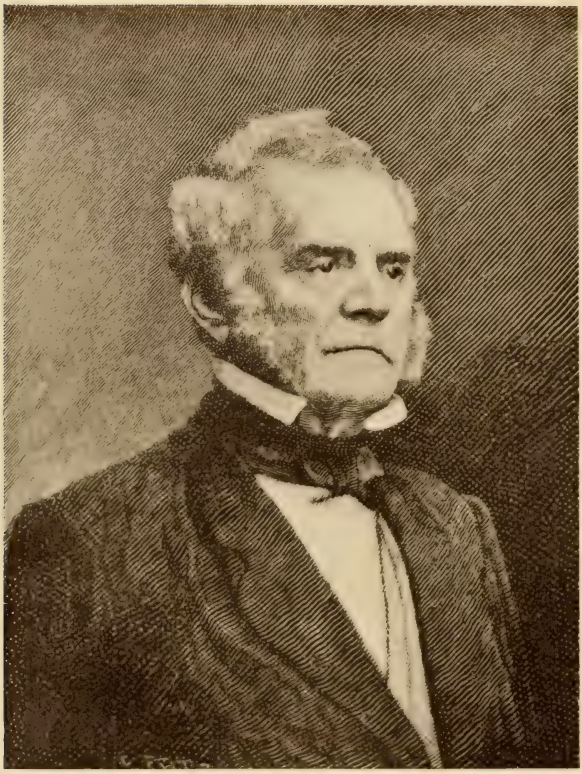
with the governor in endeavoring to have the approaching election kept free of the disgrace and rowdyism which had characterized the several preceding ones. But Mr. Swann was not altogether pleased with the governor's move toward interference and replied that as mayor of Baltimore he held his commission directly from the people, and was accountable to them for the manner in which he discharged his trust.

In his determination that the election should be fair, Governor Ligon then issued a proclamation in which he announced that the city of Baltimore would be placed under military guard on the approaching election day. This announcement caused great excitement, and immediately efforts were made to have the proclamation recalled. The know-nothing leaders advised Mr. Ligon that arrangements would be made for ample police service in the city on election day. Upon this the governor was persuaded to issue another proclamation in which he declared that he did not contemplate the use upon election day of the military force which he had ordered enrolled and organized. The truth, however, is that the arrangements were by no means adequate, and the election was but a repetition of its predecessors. The same overwhelming know-nothing majority was won by force of fists and firearms, and Mr. Hicks, the know-nothing nominee for governor, was elected.

When the legislature convened at Annapolis, Governor Ligon had the boldness to write in his annual message: "I record my deliberate opinion that the election was fraudulently conducted; that in the exclusion of thousands of people from the polls, there has been no expression of the popular will, and that the whole of the returns from that city are vicious, without a decent claim to official recognition anywhere, and in all their character, a gross insult to our institutions and laws, and a most offensive mockery

of the great principle of political independence and popular suffrage." The legislature declared the message an insult to its highly honorable members and voted to refuse to receive it; and a short while thereafter, or on January 13, 1858, Governor Ligon surrendered the executive office to Mr. Hicks, and retired to his Howard county estate of Chatham.

For the remaining years of his life Mr. Ligon lived in retirement, taking no active part in politics. He farmed his land and passed his days in peaceable meditation, and lived to see the seed he had sown spring up in a reformation of the political affairs of the state and of Baltimore city. He did not resume his law practice in Baltimore, which had been discontinued at the time of his election in 1853, but occasionally he emerged from his farmer life to take part in the deliberations of certain boards concerned in the management of charitable and educational institutions, in a number of which he was interested. He died on January 12, 1881, and was buried on January 14 from St. John's Protestant Episcopal Church, near Ellicott City. No sermon was preached, nor were there any flowers or other display, all ostentation being distasteful to Mr. Ligon, as evidenced in his life, which was marked by severe simplicity, both as a public official and as a private citizen.

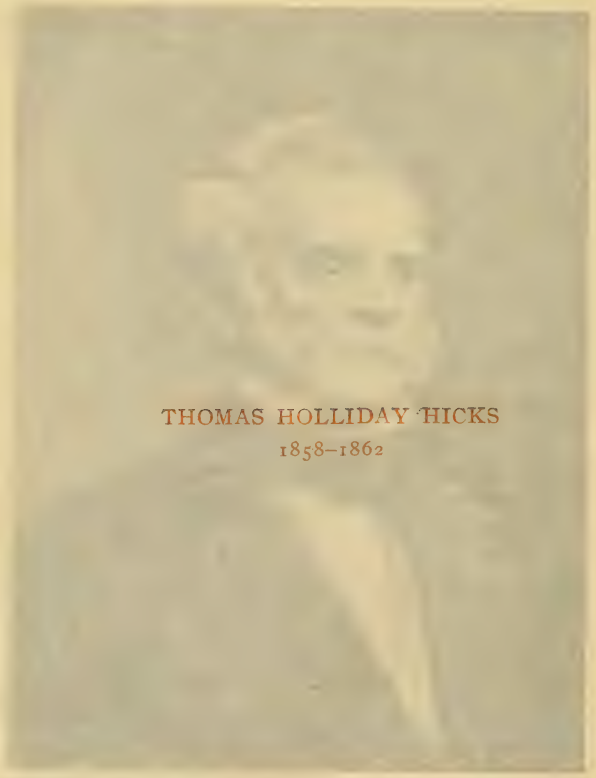


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THOMAS HOLLIDAY HICKS

who served his state as chief magistrate reminded to the attack on Fort Sumter by raising a regiment of loyal soldiers and offering its service to Lincoln. He was chief Enoch Louis Lowe, who also served as governor, urged abandoned that Maryland should secede and join the Confederacy. And Governor Thomas Lowndes of Maryland in 1861, the state might have become the key of a second Fortress Monroe, and Mr. Lowe have ruled southern Governor Letcher of Virginia, would probably have had no official obligation for secession at the hands of Mr. Hicks, who at last was a temperate, not even executive.

To appreciate Hicks the man, however, one should consult the correspondence judged his course must not influence too greatly the student's judgment, nor must the excessive delicacy which his election produced, the general



THOMAS HOLLIDAY HICKS
1858–1862

XXXI

THOMAS HOLLIDAY HICKS

When considering the Civil War period of Maryland history, before an attempt is made to draw conclusions as to the worth of this public official or of that, full account must be taken of the peculiar conditions which existed in the Old Line state in ante-bellum days and during the first months of the conflict. Part of the population was prepared to support the southern cause, should the problems which were agitating the nation be brought to an issue of arms, and an equal number of Marylanders were unconditionally with the north. Both of these elements were, according to their conscience, in the right, and Maryland has honored each alike for the course which it pursued. Francis Thomas, who served his state as chief magistrate, responded to the attack on Fort Sumter by raising a regiment of 3000 soldiers and offering its service to Lincoln. On the other hand Enoch Louis Lowe, who also served as governor, openly advocated that Maryland should secede and join the Confederacy. Had Francis Thomas been governor of Maryland in 1861, the state might have known the sway of a second Parson Brownlow; or had Mr. Lowe been chief magistrate, then Governor Letcher, of Virginia, would possibly have had an official co-laborer for secession in the borderland. But Mr. Hicks, who at best was a temporizer, was state executive.

In approaching Hick's life the bitterness with which certain of his contemporaries judged his course must not influence too greatly the student's judgment; nor must the excessive flattery which, for obvious reasons, was poured

forth by northern orators at the time of his death be accepted at its face value. Mr. Hicks was governor of Maryland during the most critical days of the state's history and he had, in a greater measure than was ever accorded another chief magistrate of the state, an opportunity to engrave in glorious and indelible letters his name upon the commonwealth's history as well as upon that of the nation at large. But, at a time when to falter was to blunder fatally, Hicks faltered. Although his early sentiments seemed favorable to secession, it is possible that at the outbreak of the war he was opposed to the cause of the south; nevertheless, when called upon to decide on which side be stood, Hicks revealed what might be termed a border allegiance, and permitted the militia of the federal government to assume the rôle of converting him, by force, into a unionist. Posterity has less cause to find fault with him for this than he himself might have had to regret his action. If he was as strongly unionist as he later professed, then by having uttered the same sentiments before Butler came to Baltimore that he did after the arrival of that Union general, he might have vied with Mr. Andrew, of Massachusetts, for the place of first honor among the Union "war governors."

Thomas Holliday Hicks was almost sixty years of age when he became governor. He was born on September 2, 1798, the eldest boy in the large family reared by Henry C. and Mary (Sewell) Hicks, who lived on a farm in Dorchester county several miles from East New Market. Hicks attended a subscription school in the neighborhood of his home until he had reached an age when he desired to go out into the world for himself. He made his initial appearance as a public official in the humble capacity of town constable. But that he filled this position satisfactorily would seem to receive certification from the fact that in 1824, at the age

of twenty-five, Mr. Hicks was elected sheriff of his county. Later he purchased a farm on the Choptank river and subsequently abandoned the plow and removed to the southern part of the county, where, in 1833, he entered upon a mercantile career at Vienna.

Mr. Hicks was a member of the 1836 senatorial electoral college—that famous body made up of the so-called "glorious 19 Van Buren electors" and 21 whigs—he, of course, being among the latter. In the same year he was chosen a member of the general assembly; and the legislature, in 1837, named him and Mr. Pratt as members of the last governor's council in Maryland. In the next year, when the council was abolished by the reform act, Mr. Hicks was appointed register of wills for Dorchester county. From 1838, when he became register, until 1851, when under the new constitution the office was made elective, he served by successive appointments in this position. In 1850 he was one of the representatives from Dorchester county to the constitutional convention which was to devise a new form of government for the commonwealth. He again assumed the duties of register of wills in 1855, and continued in the office until his election as governor.

Mr. Hicks was the American or know-nothing candidate for governor in 1857. The democrats nominated as their standard-bearer John C. Groome. Under the arbitrary rule of the know-nothings, however, the democratic candidate had little chance of success, since Baltimore was overwhelmingly against him. Although Ligon had been assured that everything would be done to prevent any conflict between the voters, the election was but a repetition of the earlier disgraceful affair when municipal officers were chosen. And not only did the know-nothing party carry the city for Hicks, but the state also gave him a majority, and the general assembly, as a result of the election, was strongly know-nothing.

Mr. Hicks became governor on January 13, 1858. His administration witnessed the period of preparation for the Civil War and the beginning of that conflict; and his own service to the state is remembered chiefly in so far as Maryland affairs were affected by the seccession movement. Had Governor Hicks sincerely and fearlessly opposed secession, not even the southern historian could find fault with his anti-secession sentiments; or had he been favorable to the south, he would have needed no apologies for his choice. The questions, however, arise—and upon their solution must depend the regard in which Marylanders generally will hold Mr. Hicks—whether his professions throughout were insincere and if, at the crucial moment, he was guilty of cowardice, no matter what his real convictions. Although he was opposed to any move which would precipitate the nation into a sectional conflict, he gave expression on December 6, 1860, in a letter to a Prince George's countian, to the following secessionist sentiments: "If the Union must be dissolved let it be done calmly, deliberately and after full reflection on the part of the united south. * * * After allowing a reasonable time for action on the part of the northern states, if they shall neglect or refuse to observe the plain requirements of the constitution, then, in my judgment, we shall be fully warranted in demanding a division of the country." Governor Hicks was in Baltimore when the Massachusetts troops, passing through the city on April 19, 1861, were set upon by the people of the city. After the close of that day of violence and bloodshed the state executive and Mayor Brown of Baltimore were visited by Marshal Kane and ex-Governor Lowe, who wished to have the railroad bridges leading into Baltimore burned, that they might thereby prevent a repetition of the day's tragedy, should the federal government seek to send the several thousand troops then reported near Cockeysville through Baltimore.

Governor Hicks, Lowe recorded in his report of the interview, said: " 'Well, I suppose it must be done,' or words of precisely that import, to which the mayor replied, substantially: 'Governor, I have no authority to act beyond the city limits, and can do nothing in this matter except by your direction. Shall the bridges be destroyed?' Governor Hicks emphatically and distinctly replied in the affirmative."

But in later days, when Governor Hicks wished to clear himself of the charge of having countenanced a burning of the bridges, he denied absolutely the testimony of Lowe, Kane and Mayor Brown, and sought to make himself out a good and unconditional Union man. And yet he left proof of how closely he approached an approval of secession, for in his communication to Lincoln, April 22, 1861, he wrote: "I feel it my duty most respectfully to advise you that no more troops be ordered or allowed to pass through Maryland, and that the troops now off Annapolis be sent elsewhere; and I most respectfully urge that a truce be offered by you so that the effusion of blood may be prevented. I respectfully suggest that Lord Lyons be requested to act as mediator between the contending parties of our country."

This was in April, 1861, and in October, 1863, Mr. Hicks, in a letter to Governor Bradford could find the courage to pen the words: "My God! How unfortunate it is that men in high places should say one thing one day and another the next day. * * * Oh! what unfortunate times we have fallen on, and yet amid our perplexity we must not relax our efforts to do good. I feel sometimes like giving it up, but then I know it is what these unprincipled men desire and I determine anew that, if fall I must, I will fall fighting for the right. I publicly and privately proclaim myself for an emancipationist. I am honestly. My judgment is so —policy leads to it. I am in favor of putting the slaves in

the army, but cannot approve of their mode of doing it. I am in favor of letting everything but principle go to save the Union by crushing out the accursed rebellion that brought all our national and individual woes upon us." And this from a man who, according to Ex-Governor Lowe, "went into Monument Square on the afternoon of the memorable nineteenth of April last [1861], while the blood of the heroic youths of Baltimore * * * was still fresh upon the pavements, and there called God to witness his loyalty to the south, and prayed that his right arm might rot from the socket if he ever raised it against his southern brethren."

The members of the legislature, and influential men in the state generally, requested Governor Hicks time and time again to call the legislature in extra session that the state might go on record as opposed to secession, but still dissatisfied with the attitude of the north toward the southern states. After the encounter between the people of Baltimore and the Massachusetts troops Governor Hicks called a special session of the legislature at Annapolis, but later changed the place of meeting to Frederick. In an address to the people of Maryland, this legislature, declared: "We cannot but know that a large proportion of the citizens of Maryland have been induced to believe that there is a probability that our deliberations may result in the passage of some measure committing this state to secession. It is, therefore, our duty to declare that all such fears are without just foundation. We know that we have no constitutional authority to take such action. You need not fear that there is a possibility that we will do so." And this address was unanimously adopted. Nevertheless, the federal government, without opposition or protest from Mr. Hicks, assumed an attitude toward Maryland's general assembly similar to that which it might have assumed toward the legislature of Mississippi. Simon Cameron, Lincoln's

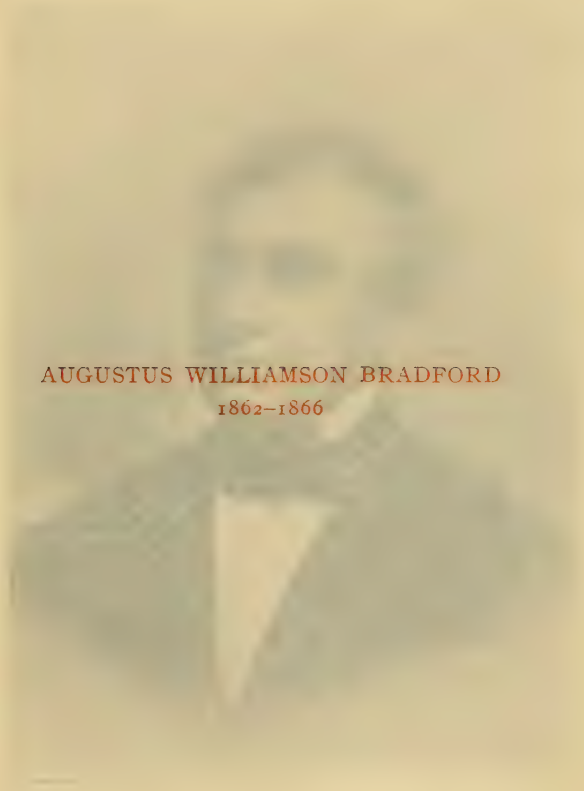
secretary of war, wrote on September 11, 1861, that "the passage of any act of secession by the legislature of Maryland must be prevented. If necessary, all or any part of the members must be arrested." And every member or employee of the legislature who was not heart and soul with every feature of the republican administration was arrested.

The administration of Governor Hicks came to a close on January 8, 1862, when Mr. Bradford was inaugurated. The new executive appointed his predecessor United States senator to fill the unexpired term of James Alfred Pearce, and Mr. Hicks was later elected by the legislature to fill the senatorial term which expired March 8, 1867. Before he had completed the term to which he was elected, however, he died, at the Metropolitan Hotel, Washington, February 13, 1865. He had been three times married—first to Miss Anna Thompson, of Dorchester county; his second wife was Miss Leah Raleigh, of the same county; and the third Mrs. Hicks, who survived her husband, had been Mrs. Mary Wilcox, the widow of Hicks' cousin. The funeral of Senator Hicks was attended by a host of public officials. President Lincoln and his cabinet, the members of the supreme court, Governor Bradford of Maryland and Mayor Chapman of Baltimore—both accompanied by delegations, and a large number of senators and representatives attended the services held in the capitol at Washington. The body was first placed in a vault in the national capital, but later it was interred at the old Hicks farm in Dorchester county, and finally removed to Cambridge Cemetery, where the state erected a monument over the remains in 1868.

XXXII

AUGUSTUS W. BRADFORD

While two separate gubernatorial administrations were experienced by the people of Maryland during the conflict between the north and south, Mr. Bradford is by common consent accepted as the war-governor. The greater portion of Mr. Hicks' governorship was passed in the stormy days immediately preceding the conflict, although the tail-end of his term reached into the opening months of the war. But when Mr. Bradford came into office the struggle between the north and the slave states had settled down to a business basis. The harmless spectacle of earlier petty encounters had given place to the grim realities of war and with the progress of hostilities there was, naturally, a counter-advance toward positiveness in the political affairs of the state. The governmental machinery, adapted to its newer requirements, was no longer run experimentally as it had been in the days of Governor Hicks, but a Union governor and a Union legislature were seeking to run the affairs of the commonwealth in a way that would stress the political and soften the military aspect of government in Maryland. For four years Mr. Bradford governed Maryland, and the one feature of his administration which stands out in strongest relief is the courage with which he upheld the dignity of the state's government. In times such as those between 1861 and 1865, and in a commonwealth like Maryland, upon the borderland of conflict, there was bound to occur almost constantly friction between the military forces representing the United States and the political forces representing the authority



AUGUSTUS WILLIAMSON BRADFORD
1862–1866

XXXI

AUGUSTUS W. BRADFORD



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of the commonwealth. Although there are incidents in the public career of Maryland's war governor which invite criticism, still there is no denying that for the particular needs of his time he was admirably equipped to direct state affairs.

Augustus Williamson Bradford was born at Belair, Harford county, January 9, 1806, the son of Samuel and Jane (Bond) Bradford. He received his elementary training at the academy conducted by Rev. Reuben H. Davis in his home town, and it is probable that during the early years of his school life he was attracted to the profession of civil engineering. At all events, he soon showed a liking for certain branches of this calling, and before finally entering upon a legal profession he found employment for a time as surveyor. Shortly after completing the courses at the Belair Academy, Mr. Bradford came to Baltimore to pursue his studies at St. Mary's College, from which he was graduated in 1824. He then returned to his native town, where he began to study law, and in 1826 was authorized to practice at the bar of Maryland. During the first years of his career as an attorney he continued a resident of Harford county, but as his ability developed with experience and he came to realize how necessarily limited was the field afforded by the little village of Belair, he determined to cast his lot in a more promising territory and turned his face toward the city in which he had for several years been a student. Mr. Bradford came to Baltimore in 1831, and the next 50 years of his life were passed in the Maryland metropolis.

Shortly after his coming to Baltimore Mr. Bradford became interested in the whig party, and for some years he gave that political organization a considerable portion of his time. In the presidential campaign of 1844 he was a warm supporter of Henry Clay, being a presidential elector for the Kentuckian. The defeat of his hero cooled his political ardor, and for some time thereafter he retired from

politics, refusing to go upon the stump and abstaining from attendance upon political meetings. During this season of retirement Mr. Bradford gave himself over to two pursuits—his development as a lawyer and the building of a home. As a lawyer he came to occupy a fair but not distinguished position in his profession. He was, however, a speaker of no mean ability, and he possessed a broad knowledge of law. He had married, in 1835, Miss Elizabeth Kell, daughter of Judge Thomas Kell, of Baltimore; and in the home which the Bradfords set up in Baltimore the governor passed the pleasantest days of his life. In 1845 Governor Pratt appointed Mr. Bradford clerk of Baltimore county, which position he retained for the next six years. But from 1851 to 1861 he did not take much part in public affairs.

Just before the outbreak of the war there were held in various parts of the country a number of conferences which had as their purpose a settlement of the differences between north and south without a resort to secession or arms. To the peace conference held in Washington in the spring of 1861 Mr. Bradford was sent by Governor Hicks as a representative of Maryland, and his speech there in favor of the Union doubtless won for him the gubernatorial nomination; for when the union party was formed in Maryland in the following summer it named Mr. Bradford as candidate for chief magistrate of the state. The democrats nominated Gen. Benjamin C. Howard.

The manner of Bradford's election is perhaps the least satisfactory feature of his entire career, private and public. That he had aught to do with the way in which the campaign was managed is doubtful, but that he had knowledge of the way in which his success had been brought about is past doubting. The only fault to be found with him, therefore, is his pretension that he had been chosen by the free vote of the people. It need not be assumed that without

the aid of the military he would have been defeated. The only vital fact, as far as the moral aspect of the thing is concerned, is that an enormous proportion of his vote was secured by intimidation and through the unlawful use of soldiery. The extent of this proportion must, of course, always remain an unknown quantity. A number of precautions were taken by the federal administration and its representatives stationed in Maryland to prevent the people from voting for any candidates but those on the union ticket at this election. The military officials had been authorized to suspend the habeas corpus and to arrest and hold in confinement till after the election those who fell under suspicion. And by this course the union gubernatorial candidate received in Baltimore 17,922 votes on November 6, 1861, while General Howard was credited with only 3347. Nevertheless, when Mr. Bradford assumed office, January 8, 1862, he declared that the spectacle of his inauguration seemed "to call to mind the value and success of republican institutions in recognizing, as it were, the power of the people peacefully to select and inaugurate their political rulers by the simple expression of the voice of the majority."

The opening of his administration inaugurated a marked change in the way that affairs were conducted in Maryland. The governor, beginning with his inaugural, condemned severely the creed of secession and the authors of that creed. He used all his energy in an untiring and unceasing endeavor to have Maryland and Baltimore support with both money and volunteers the arm of the federal government. But he opposed with courage the efforts of the military to continue those practices in Maryland by which he himself had been carried into office. He also assumed the championship in Maryland of those opposed to slavery, although at no time did he display the violent reason—

or unreason—of abolitionism. He declared that slavery was wrong morally, but he declared with greater emphasis that it was unwise economically. Out of his suggestion, to some extent, grew the constitutional convention of 1864, which undertook to frame a new constitution for Maryland. The document devised by the convention of 1864 accomplished the emancipation of the negro and the disfranchisement of all who fought for or aided the confederacy. It was, however, in some respects an unsatisfactory instrument, due to the manner in which it was produced and also to the general excitement of the times.

It was in 1863 that Governor Bradford had his most serious disagreement with the military forces in Maryland. This was his notorious encounter with Major-General Schenck, who had issued an order that the military officers were to be on hand at the election to arrest suspicious persons. "This extraordinary order," Bradford declared in a proclamation under date of November 2, 1863, "has not only been issued without any notice to or consultation with the constituted authorities of the state, but at a time and under circumstances when the condition of the state and the character of the candidates are such as to preclude the idea that the result of that election can in any way endanger either the safety of the government or the peace of the community," and he announced fearlessly that "it is the judgment of the judges of election alone, founded upon the provisions of the constitution and the laws of the state, that must determine the right to vote of any person offering himself for that purpose." The presumption of a mere state governor countermanding by proclamation the orders of a military commander came as a bomb in the camp of General Schenck.

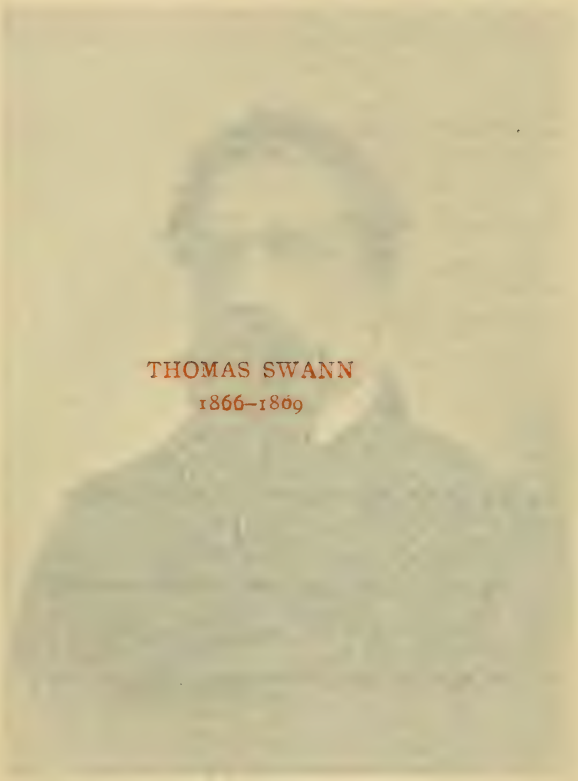
During Governor Bradford's administration Baltimore was several times threatened by invasion by the Confed-

erates. On the last of these occasions Mr. Bradford's mansion was destroyed. The governor was not at home and so escaped arrest, or whatever would have been the outcome of an encounter between him and the Confederates. His beautiful mansion, however, his furniture and his entire library were given to the flames. At the election under the constitution of 1864, Thomas Swann was chosen governor. He took the oath of office and read his inaugural address on January 11, 1865, thus qualifying himself as Bradford's successor, although he did not become governor *de facto* until January 10, 1866, when Mr. Bradford's term expired.

In 1867 President Johnson appointed Mr. Bradford surveyor of the port of Baltimore, but when General Grant was inaugurated president in 1869 he removed him from the surveyor's office. Three years later, however, when Grant was repairing his political fences preliminary to his appearance for reëlection, he announced the nomination of Mr. Bradford, without the latter's consent or knowledge, for the office of appraiser-general in the Baltimore custom-house. But the ex-governor promptly and emphatically refused to consider the appointment, declaring that the position called for one who had had experience as a merchant, which he lacked. "To accept would make me entirely dependent upon deputies and assistants, which would be utterly repugnant to my notions of official qualification or responsibility." The governor's last appearance in public life was as presidential elector on the Greeley ticket in 1872. He held no office after his removal as surveyor in 1869, but devoted his time to his family and his practice during the closing years of his life. He died in the city of Baltimore March 1, 1881, in the seventy-sixth year of his life.

THOMAS SWANN

Four times has the Old Dominion supplied a man for Maryland's executive mansion, and each time it would appear the native son of Virginia made more than an ordinary record in the history of the state of his adoption. Mercer, who had seen service as soldier and legislator before he left his native state to try his fortunes in Maryland, won the distinction of being the first republican governor elected under the constitution of 1776. Ligon, after him, set a remarkable example of a state executive possessed of absolute fearlessness, who did not hesitate to make war not only on the legislature, but upon the municipal officials of Baltimore as well. The final of the four Virginians, Lloyd Lowndes, was born in Clarksburg, which is now in West Virginia. So far he has been the only republican governor elected in Maryland since the close of the Civil War. But of the Virginians who have crossed the Potomac to win their way to Maryland's executive mansion, none presented a more picturesque personality nor made a more lasting impression upon the state than he, who in point of time, is third—Thomas Swann. He came to the Old Line state to engage in business, and under his presidency the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad obtained a new lease on life, and its lines were carried westward over rivers and under mountains to new and rich fields. He deserted the railway office to enter politics, and as mayor of Baltimore accomplished more for the city's beauty and the citizens' convenience than any city executive before or after him. He became governor at a time when the majority of voters



THOMAS SWANN
1866–1869

THOMAS SWANN



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had been deprived of the ballot, and he promptly unloosed the shackles that a military-reinforced minority had riveted upon the majority. Finally, he sacrificed his own dearest ambition—to be United States senator— in order that he he might save from hazard of undoing the labors which he had performed on the people's behalf.

Thomas Swann was born in Alexandria, Virginia, in 1805 or 1806. He would never tell the exact date of his birth, but a close relative asserted at the time of his death that he was then seventy-seven. Governor Swann came of one of the very first families of the Old Dominion. His father, also Thomas Swann, was a lawyer of considerable prominence, practicing chiefly in Washington, where he filled the office of United States attorney for the District of Columbia. Mrs. Swann, the governor's mother, had been Miss Jane Byrd Page, a descendant of the famous William Byrd, at one time receiver-general of the colonies. The youth of Thomas Swann, Jr., was passed among such surroundings as would inculcate into a receptive mind all the polish and refinement of manners that characterized the official circles at the national capital. He was entered at Columbian College, Washington, and subsequently attended the University of Virginia. Upon the completion of his college career, he entered his father's office as a law student, and there fitted himself for the legal profession. When President Jackson appointed the United States commission to Naples, Mr. Swann was chosen secretary of that body, serving in this capacity until the work of the commission was finished.

In November, 1834, Mr. Swann was married to Miss Elizabeth Gilmor Sherlock, daughter of John and Elizabeth Sherlock; and as a consequence of this marriage there occurred a change in both the scene and character of his subsequent activity. First, he took up his residence in Balti-

more, the home of his bride; and then, with his coming to the Maryand town, he made his appearance as a railroad official. He acquired considerable stock in the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, of which company he was chosen a director. Upon the retirement of President Louis McLane in 1847, Mr. Swann's was elected Mr. McLane's successor, and with his induction into this office began a period of determined advance in the history of the railroad. After severing his connection with the Baltimore and Ohio in 1853, Mr. Swann assumed the presidency of the Northwestern Virginia Railroad Company, and while serving as president of this latter enterprise made an extensive tour of Europe.

Upon his return to America, he appeared to have lost his ambition to be a railroad builder in the more absorbing passion for political honors. At all events, in 1856 Mr. Swann announced his candicacy for mayor of Baltimore, and was elected for a term of two years. He was reëlected for a like term in 1858, thus serving four years in this office; and it would be difficult to overestimate the importance which attaches to these years in the chronicles of Baltimore's growth. The primary accomplishment of the mayoralty administration of Mr. Swann was the establishment of a street car service. In securing this modern convenience for the people of the city he at the same time planned carefully and wisely that the municipality should receive from those favored with the privilege of laying tracks and operating cars on the streets an equitable return. Thus there was devised the park-tax system, which required the railway company or companies to pay to the city a certain percentage of their earnings. This source of revenue was designed to afford the means for developing the city artistically, and Mayor Swann had it specified that moneys received from the car lines should be devoted to purchasing and maintain-

ing land as public parks. He was responsible, in this connection, for the acquisition of Druid Hill Park, the city's most notable public pleasure ground. It was during his administration, too, that the inadequate volunteer fire companies were superseded by a municipal fire department and the old fashioned pumps gave way to steam fire engines.

The one unfortunate feature of Governor Swann's official relations with Baltimore is the fact that he appeared as the standard-bearer of the know-nothing party. The first municipal election in which he was a candidate was that of October 8, 1856; and in certain particulars this election filled respectable Baltimoreans with apprehension. There was dishonesty in voting, there was violence and bloodshed around the polls, and there was on the part of the know-nothing leaders an absolute disregard of public morality.

As the time approached for the gubernatorial election of 1857 Governor Ligon became uneasy lest the ballot-box be made a mockery by the lawlessness of the know-nothing politicians. He entered into communication with the city officials, looking to an honest election, but his advances were not kindly received in the city. Mr. Ligon, however, was not a timid man, and when he learned of the officials' disinclination to coöperate with him in having a decent election in Baltimore, he promptly gave some hint of his determination to down rowdyism as a political factor by issuing a proclamation in which he announced that Baltimore would be put under military rule on election day. The proclamation caused much excitement, and leading citizens of Baltimore prevailed upon the state executive to reconsider his purpose, as they feared a conflict between the soldiery and the people. Mayor Swann then declared that every precaution would be taken to have the election orderly,

provided the proclamation was superseded by another cancelling the order for military rule.

Despite the mayor's assurance the same reign of terror and violence marked the election, and Mr. Hicks, the know-nothing candidate, was reported to have polled a majority of 9036 votes in Baltimore. There were repeated efforts at this time to inaugurate some sort of reform in Baltimore politics, but the movement was too feeble to accomplish its object. Mayor Swann appeared for reëlection in 1858, and some idea of how things were run is given in the attitude of his opponent, Mr. A. P. Shutt. About noon of election day Mr. Shutt advised his friends to make no further effort to cast ballots for him, declaring that their ballots would be lost anyway and that any effort to vote other than a know-nothing ticket meant the endangering of the life of the voter. The majority for Mr. Swann was declared to be 19,149.

Up to 1860 the political activities of Thomas Swann had been confined almost entirely to Baltimore. In that year however, the know-nothing party lost its hold in Maryland, while elsewhere in the nation it had ceased to exist some time before. The conflict incident to the Civil War was bringing about a change in the political complexion of the nation, and a considerable portion of the know-nothing following became union, and later republican; while part of the organization attached itself to the democratic party either before the opening of the war or shortly thereafter. Mr. Swann early took a decided stand against secession. When the conflict began he joined the forces of the union party and labored with that organization during the four years of hostilities, but he subsequently became a democrat. His speeches during the period from 1861 to 1864 focused upon him the attention of the union party's leaders in Maryland, and when the state convention was assembled on October 18, 1864, he was unanimously nominated for

governor. Under the constitution of 1864, which was in force only during Governor Swann's administration, a lieutenant-governor was provided for, and the unconditional union party named for this position, as Mr. Swann's running mate Christopher C. Cox. Swann and Cox were elected, and Mr. Swann took the oath of office on January 11, 1865, although he did not become governor *de facto* until a year later, January 10, 1866.

When Mr. Swann assumed the reins of state government in 1866 he gave his fellow-citizens every reason to believe that he would pursue the course begun by his predecessor, and that he would hold steadfast to the principles of the union party. But when that party turned radical, and sought to retain power in states where its adherents were few by withholding from its political opponents the elective franchise, Swann refused to follow it. Almost immediately after his induction into office, Governor Swann gave his ear to those who were laboring for the restoration of Maryland to its rightful majority. When a petition bearing more than 20,000 names was presented to the general assembly, asking it to restore to Marylanders the elective franchise, the governor sustained the petitioners, but the legislature did not see fit to grant the request.

The real tug of war came later, when it was alleged that the police commissioners of Baltimore had been guilty of partisan conduct in the municipal election on October 10, 1866. The commissioners were subject to removal for misconduct by the legislature, but during a recess this judicial authority devolved upon the state executive. Governor Swann, consequently, advised the commissioners that charges had been made against them, and that he would sit in judgment over them; but the commissioners denied the governor's authority. Nevertheless, the charges were investigated and Governor Swann announced, Novem-

ber 1, 1866, that Commissioners Wood and Hindes were found guilty and dismissed, while Thomas Val ant and James Young were appointed as their successors. The old commissioners issued warrants for the arrest of their successors, and had them detained in jail because they refused to g:ve bond that no effort would be made to supp'ant the men whom Governor Swann had dismissed. Although the disagreement between the state executive and the old commissioners became so ser:ous that Mr. Swann requested assistance from the federal government, a fairly peaceable election was held on November 6, when the supporters of radical disfranchisement measures met with defeat.

The general assembly on January 25, 1867, elected Governor Swann, on the eighth ballot, as the successor of John A. J. Creswell in the United States senate. After arrangements had been made for the inauguration of Mr. Cox as governor, certain leaders of the democratic party prevailed upon Swann not to surrender the office to the lieutenant-governor, who was a radical, for fear that he would undo the things Swann had accomplished in restoring the elective franchise to Maryland's democrats. At the same time word came from Washington that the senate might refuse the credentials of the senator-elect on the ground that he had been too liberal toward friends of the southern cause. This latter explanation was used as an excuse by Governor Swann in declining at the last minute to resign. He continued as governor until January 1869, but compensated Cox for his disappointment by having him appointed to a foreign post.

In November preceding his retirement as governor Mr. Swann appeared as a candidate for congress from the fourth district and was elected, despite the violent opposition of the republicans. He took his seat in the house

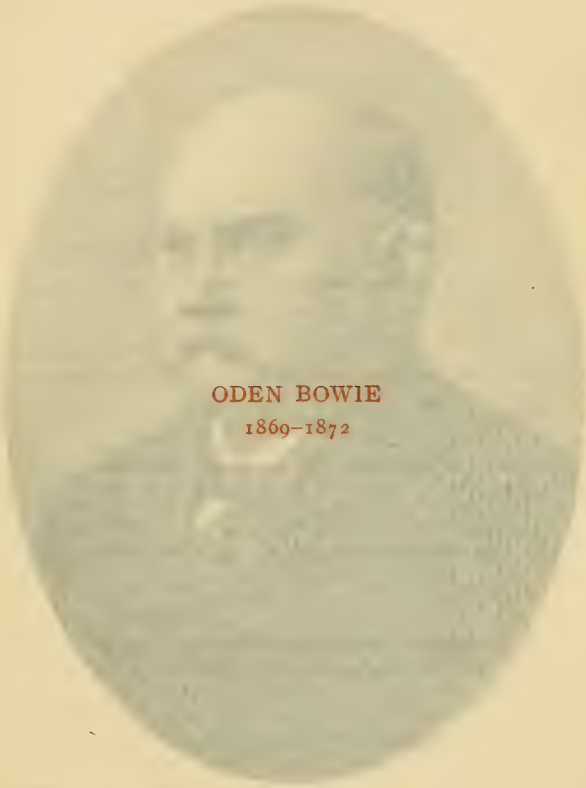
of representatives in 1869, and after serving an initial term was four times reëlected, carrying his congressional career through to 1879. It is probable that as a member of congress he found the most congenial public office to which he had been called during his busy life. He was not a great public speaker, for his voice lacked the volume essential to effective oratory; nor was he formidable in debate, since he had too deeply ingrained in him a courtesy of manner that left his adversary unharmed; but as an executive he was far above most of the men with whom he was thrown in public affairs. His executive ability won for him a place upon the house's committee on foreign affairs, and during his ten years in congress he continued a member of this body. In this connection he exerted much influence in the national legislature. The position, moreover, brought him in intimate relations with the most distinguished foreigners in Washington. He entertained generously and was entertained lavishly in return.

Very late in life, Governor Swann made a second venture into matrimony. On June 20, 1878, when he had reached the age of seventy-one or seventy-two, he married Mrs. John R. Thompson, a social leader of the national capital, who, as Miss Josephine Ward, had been a famous belle in New York society. The marriage did not bring much joy to the aged statesman and the couple soon separated. Governor Swann, who had become a resident of Baltimore in the thirties, removed to his old home, Morven Park, near Leesburg, Va., after the close of his congressional career, and it was there that he died on July 24, 1883. Although a native of the Old Dominion, his body was brought for burial to the city and state that he had adopted as his own. He lies buried in Greenmount Cemetery, Baltimore.

XXXIV

ODEN BOWIE

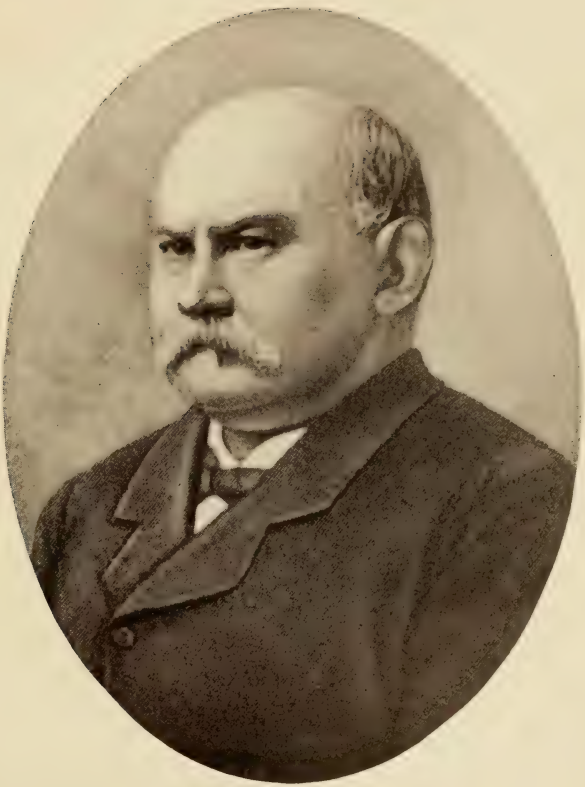
A certain sentimental interest attaches itself to the first born. This is so not only in the family, or in the social world, but in the world political as well, for just as seniority is no little factor in determining the consideration to be shown those born of woman, so also a large amount of honor, based solely upon the fact of priority in office, is given to the first child of a political parent. For instance, had Thomas Johnson lacked the discernment essential to a successful statesman or the wisdom necessary to a capable legislator, he would still find a place of peculiar distinction in the pages of Maryland history as the first governor created under the constitution of 1776. Following after him William Grason, regardless of the intrinsic worth which he so largely possessed, would have been set down as entitled to some recognition from posterity on account of having been the first state executive chosen by the direct vote of the people. And still later there appears Oden Bowie, to whose name attaches considerable interest because he was the first governor under the constitution of 1867. It must not be supposed, of course, that Governor Bowie is dependent upon so trivial a thing as his position in the line of state executives for fame. Within his body there was housed a personality that would have won for him distinction independent of all such external aids. There is, nevertheless, a great deal of pleasure in contemplating the Prince George's countian as the initial one of Maryland's truly representative governors.



ODEN BOWIE
1869–1872

XXXIV

ODEN BOWIE



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Oden Bowie was born in Prince George's county on November 10, 1826, the eldest son of Colonel William D. and Mary Eliza (Oden) Bowie. His father, who had served in both houses of the legislature, farmed the 1000-acre estate of Fairview where the governor spent the greater part of his life. Young Bowie studied at home under a private tutor until his tenth year, when, upon the death of his mother, he was sent to the preparatory school attached to St. John's, Annapolis. He remained there for three years, and then entered St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, from which he was graduated in 1845. Shortly after leaving college the difficulties between the United States and Mexico fired his patriotism and he enlisted as a private in the battalion contributed by Baltimore and Washington to the army of invasion. During his stay in the south he took part in several of the more important encounters. For his bravery at Monterey he was promoted to a lieutenancy, and subsequently was commissioned a captain in the Voltigeur Regiment. The climate of Mexico, however, put an end to Mr Bowie's military career, for his services in the army, begun under such auspicious conditions, were brought to a unexpected close by sickness. Captain Bowie was forced to resign his commission and returned home before the war had been brought to its successful close.

Immediately upon his arrival in Prince George's, Mr. Bowie appeared as a candidate for member of the house of delegates. His opponents made much of the youth of the warrior-candidate, who was not yet of age, although he would have attained his majority before being called upon to assume his seat if elected; and in consequence of the doubt as to his eligibility Mr. Bowie was defeated, but by ten votes only. In 1849 he once more came before the people as a candidate for the lower branch of the general assembly. and was elected. Two years later, December 3, 1851, he

was married to Miss Alice Carter, daughter of Charles H. Carter—a fellow-countian. The Bowies lived at "Fairview," the ancestral estate of the governor. While Mr. Bowie devoted much time thereafter to his business interests in Baltimore, and also to politics, he managed to maintain his Prince George's county estate as "home." He lived there, and while business might call him away through the day, evening invariably found him back on the farm.

Although Mr. Bowie served in both the house of delegates and the state senate prior to 1860, it was not until after that time that he loomed up big in the public affairs of his native state. In 1860 he was chosen president of the recently organized Baltimore and Potomac Railroad, and his energy and good management were largely instrumental in the success of carrying to completion this line. He met with serious opposition from the Baltimore and Ohio and had to war with this company unceasingly to prevent it from succeeding in its efforts to keep its prospective rival from finishing the work undertaken. After the Baltimore and Potomac had become a part of the Pennsylvania system Mr. Bowie was retained as its president. The office, however, had become merely a nominal one, and the Marylander was continued as a means of showing the company's appreciation for the great service he had rendered and the interest he had shown in the building of the line, for the actual management was in the hands of the Philadelphia office of the railway company.

Oden Bowie appeared as a candidate for the state senate from Prince George's county in 1861. He was a "peace" democrat, but certain defeat was read for his campaign by the interference of the federal forces in the state election. Although an ardent democrat and also a warm sympathizer with the south, he was opposed to the radical course of the secessionists. He was chairman of the state

central committee during the war and was a delegate to the democratic national convention of 1864, which nominated General McClellan for president. The state constitution of 1864 provided for a governor and lieutenant-governor, and in the election under the operation of this governmental instrument Mr. Bowie was named as the democratic nominee for the second position on the ticket. Mr. Cox, the union candidate for lieutenant-governor, who had the war forces with him, polled in Maryland 41,828 votes as against 32,178 for Mr. Bowie. Mr. Bowie was elected to the state senate in 1867, where he served upon several important committees, including that upon federal relations. Early in this year began the agitation for a constitutional convention, and when the people of Maryland who were then eligible to vote were asked to decide if a convention should be called, out of the 58,718 votes cast on the 13th of April, 34,534 were for a convention and 24,136 against it.

The convention met on May 8, 1867, and continued in session until August 17, and the document which it devised was submitted to the people of Maryland on September 18, 1867, when it was adopted by a small majority. This constitution restored to thousands of disfranchised Marylanders the right to vote, and at the state election on November 5, 1867, the democrats carried everything before them. Mr. Bowie, who had been largely instrumental in bringing about the change, was the nominee for governor on the democratic ticket and of the 85,744 votes cast 63,694 were given to him, while the legislature chosen for the following year presented the unusual spectacle of a general assembly without an opposition—every member elected being a democrat.

Under the constitution of 1867 the first state executive elected was to serve for only three years, but all subse-

quent governors were to be chosen for a four-year term. Mr. Bowie qualified as Swann's successor on January 8, 1868, although he did not become governor *de facto* until a year later, or January 13, 1869. He remained in office until January 10, 1872.

The greatest task of Mr. Bowie's administration was the readjustment of a host of state affairs after the disarrangement consequent upon the troubled times of the conflict between the North and South. By the adoption of the constitution under which he served as governor the political machinery of the state had been restored to the proper authority and Governor Bowie was, therefore, little troubled with political affairs. To him came rather the great business problems of the commonwealth, such as a settlement of the dispute with Virginia regarding oyster beds, the collection of arrears from the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and adjustment of Maryland's war claims against the federal government and kindred subjects. He courageously opposed the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad in its endeavors to block the Baltimore and Potomac Railroad; he exerted a great influence upon the management of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company, which began to fulfill promises which had been made for it in the days when it was first projected; he took the initiative in providing for Maryland a general improvement of its roads, and he was active in the interest of public education.

With the close of his administration, when he retired from politics, began his direction of the affairs of the Baltimore City Passenger Railway. Mr. Bowie was elected president of the street railway company in 1873, when its stock, with a par value of $25, was selling at $14; when no dividends had been paid for several years, and when the city held a claim against it for $100,000 for park tax arrears. Furthermore, the equipment and trackage were in wretched condi-

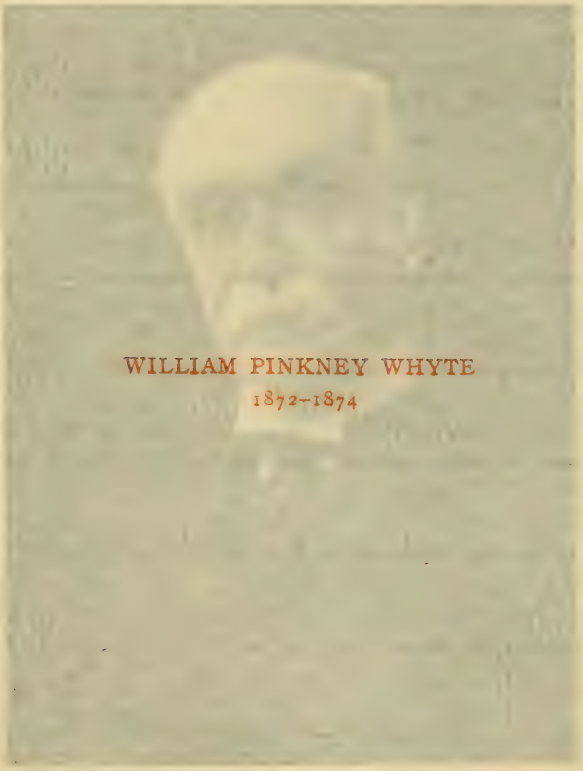
tion. Under his management the city's claim was paid, the horse-car lines operated by the company were changed to rapid transit and the stock was greatly enhanced in value. Governor Bowie's presidency of the company continued until his death in 1894, and it was through his efficient management, in a large measure, that the great strides made by the City Passenger Railway were accomplished.

In 1870 Mr. Bowie became president of the Maryland Jockey Club, which was organized about that time, and in whose formation he was active. It was to him that chief credit was due for the acquisition of the Pimlico racetrack by the Maryland Jockey Club. His own stables were renowned throughout the land and his colors were seen upon every racetrack of note in the country, while his horses—among them Crickmore, Compensation, Oriole and Belle d'Or—brought to their breeder both pleasure and wealth. At his Prince George's county home Mr. Bowie had a three-quarter mile racetrack, and here he exercised the thoroughbreds that found shelter in his five stables. In 1890 Mr. Bowie had a nervous breakdown, and the physician whom he consulted declared it imperative that he immediately cease his attendance upon races and also sell his horses. Governor Bowie thereupon retired from the turf, but he frankly admitted that the greatest sorrow that his life had known, or ever could know, was that moment when he concluded to part with his thoroughbreds. He died December 4, 1894, at Fairview, and his body was placed at rest in the family burial plot but a short distance from the home in which he had passed most of his life.

XXXV

WILLIAM PINKNEY WHYTE

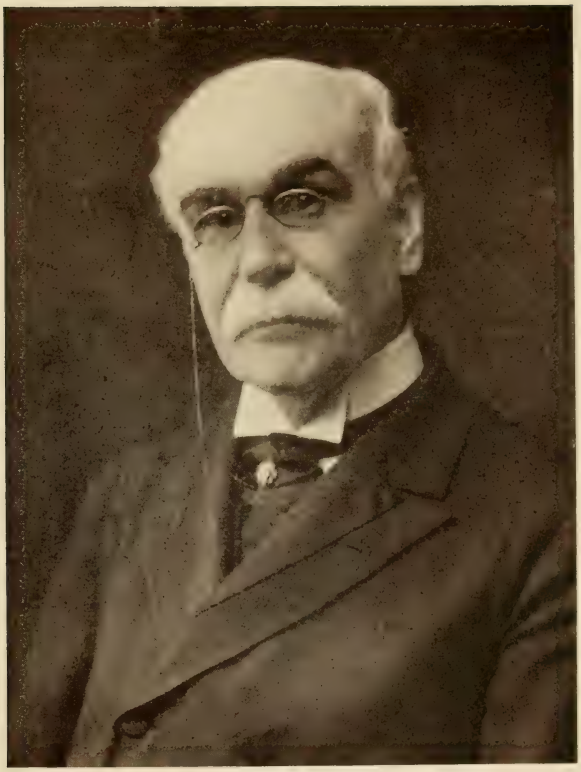
There is need to enter protest occasionally against the practice of crediting all virtues to ages past, a practice arising from an unconscious, though harmful, pessimism. Certain phrases that are in daily use by the people—such, for instance, as "gentleman of the old school" when applied to a man who is courteous in manner, dignified in bearing, and upright in life—are so employed as to intimate that in the dim days of yesteryear a better race of citizens was developed than is possible under existing conditions. Ignorance is generally responsible for the blunders along this line. As a matter of fact, the righteous man is not good because his times are good, but because his conscience is untrammeled; the wise man does not procure breadth of mind, he develops it; and the truly brave man is not dependent upon those about him for courage to abide by the right. Commonplaceness in natural endowments, in conduct and in accomplishments may be general; but greatness invariably is individual. Mr. Whyte was constantly written down: "A democrat of the old school," a term which not only did the distinguished statesman a wrong, but was grossly unfair to modern democracy. The democratic party of the forties and fifties was not better, indeed, it was not as good as the democratic party of the twentieth century, and the same is true of the organization which late in the fifties assumed the name: republican. There was more wickedness and less righteousness in politics in those years, than at the



WILLIAM PINKNEY WHYTE
1872–1874

XXXV

WILLIAM PINKNEY WHYTE



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present time; and whatever distincton has been won by men in the class with Governor Whyte, came to them, not because of the times in which they were reared, but rather because they themselves were in large measure out of tune with their times.

William Pinkney Whyte was born in Baltimore, August 9, 1824, the son of Joseph White and Isabella Pinkney White. On his father's side he was a grandson of Dr. John Campbell White, who in 1798 came to America as the result of the failure of the Irish rebellion in which he had taken part; on his maternal side Governor Whyte was a grandson of William Pinkney, who served Maryland with much distinction, and at the time of his death was a member of the United States senate. A disagreement upon a business matter between the father of Governor Whyte and his two uncles caused two of the former's sons to make such changes in their names as would distinguish them from their uncles' branches of the family: Governor Whyte substituted the "y" in his surname in place of "i," but his brother became Campbell White Pinkney.

Although Governor Whyte received a thorough elementary education, the need of earning his own living prevented him from going beyond the secondary schools. He was a student for some years at the school which R. M. McNally —sometime in the personal service of the great Napoleon— conducted in Baltimore after the downfall of the French monarch; but in 1842, when Mr. Whyte was eighteen years of age, he was forced to leave the studies, in which he was considerably engrossed, to take a position in the commercial world, for which he entertained no special affection. His first position was with the banking house of Peabody, Riggs and Company—founded by George Peabody—where he remained for two years. He then decided to study law, and resigned his position with the banking house, 1843,

to enter the office of the law firm of Brown and Brune. He read law here for a year, and later entered Harvard Law School at Cambridge. Mr. Whyte returned to Baltimore in 1845, and for the next year continued his studies under Judge John Glenn. He was admitted to the bar in 1846. At this time he also made his appearance as a political factor, being one of the five democratic candidates for the house of delegates from Baltimore. In the fall of that year he was elected, beginning his service in January, 1847. This small experience whetted Mr. Whyte's appetite for larger things and he entered the congressional primaries two years later against John Nelson, former attorney-general of the United States. Although Mr. Whyte won the nomination, he was unable, in the election, to overcome the predominance of whig sentiment in the district and his chief gain from the campaign was the glory of having made a good fight. For several years thereafter he gave his time to his legal practice, declining a renomination for state delegate, but early in the fifties he was named for comptroller and elected. He served for the one term of two years during the first half of Governor Ligon's administration, but refused to allow his name to be put up for another term in 1856.

It was somewhat in a spirit of patriotism that Mr. Whyte once more made a fight for election to congress in 1857. At this period know-nothingism was supreme in the Monumental city, and, while it required courage to be the supporter of an opponent of the know-nothing party, it called for absolute fearlessness to be such a candidate-opponent. But the friends of good government persuaded Mr. Whyte that by going into the contest, although his defeat was assured, he would be able to aid reform matters in Maryland. J. Morrison Harris, the know-nothing candidate, was declared elected by Governor Hicks, himself a violent

know-nothing; but Mr. Whyte, who had entered the campaign for the purpose of purifying politics, did not allow the matter to rest here, and he contested the seating of his opponent. Although the congressional committee which investigated the matter reported in favor of the unseating of Mr. Harris, certain leaders in congress succeeded upon a purely partisan vote in having the report laid upon the table.

From 1860 to 1868 Mr. Whyte was not much in the public eye. In sympathy with the south, his physical condition at that time was not such as to permit him to bear arms; and drafted for military service on one occasion by the federal troops he was declined as "unfit" by their medical examiner. With many another noncombatant he was deprived of his rights as a citizen in the reign of the more bitter reconstructionists, and during this period of temporary disenfranchisement he visited Europe with his sons. Upon the adoption of the constitution of 1867, however, Mr. Whyte was once more enabled to take a leading part in both state and national affairs. He was a delegate to the national democratic convention of 1868, and in the same year received his first appointment as a member of the United States senate. When Reverdy Johnson resigned his seat in the upper house of congress that he might accept from President Johnson the appointment of minister to the court of St. James, Governor Swann named Mr. Whyte to fill the unexpired term from July 10, 1868, till the following year, when William T. Hamilton, who had been elected to the United States senate by the legislature prior to Mr. Whyte's appointment, took his seat. Brief as was that period, in it Senator Whyte found opportunity not only to distinguish himself, but to render a signal service in upholding the constitution. Congress was then at odds with the president, and when, on December 9, 1868,

his annual message, in which he roundly scored his enemies, was received, the radicals interrupted its reading and moved to have it placed upon the table. Senator Whyte, one of a handful of congressmen who had not been infected with hatred for Andrew Johnson, calmly and fearlessly pointed out to his colleagues that the constitution instructed the president to send at prescribed periods a message to congress, and for congress to refuse to receive it would be a violation of the constitution, and the message was read.

Mr. Whyte was named on the democratic ticket for governor in the spring of 1871, and in the campaign was opposed by Jacob Tome, republican. The campaign has interest outside of its general aspect inasmuch as it was the first Maryland state election in which the negro was permitted to exercise the elective franchise. This departure accounts for the falling off from 40,000 majority given Governor Bowie in 1867 to a little more than 15,000 for Mr. Whyte in 1871. Mr. Whyte was inaugurated governor on January 10, 1872, and for a little more than two years thereafter, he administered the affairs of the executive office. His administration was efficient and fulfilled the most sanguine hopes of his supporters, and yet there was not much of distinction about it. Were his services as a legislator less conspicuous, it is possible that the governorship of Mr. Whyte might appear to greater advantage; but as a lawmaker his life had been so eventful, while as executive his administration was cast in a time so bare of incident, that Governor Whyte seems completely overshadowed by Senator Whyte. Furthermore, when the legislature which met in the early part of 1874 undertook to provide a successor for Senator Hamilton, its choice fell upon Governor Whyte, and thus was brought to a premature end his career as chief magistrate of Maryland.

Governor Whyte, upon being elected United States sena-

tor, immediately laid before the legislature his resignation as governor, although the term for which he was chosen was not to begin until full twelve months later. This course was taken in order that the legislature might duly select a successor. James Black Groome having been chosen for the unexpired term as governor, Mr. Whyte relinquished the office on March 4, 1874, and devoted the months until March 4, 1875, when he entered congress, to his legal practice and private affairs. During this period he served his state as special counsel in the boundary-dispute case between Maryland and Virginia, and, due to his energetic prosecution of the Old Line state's claim, his native commonwealth gained a signal victory.

From March 4, 1875, to March 3, 1881, Mr. Whyte represented Maryland in the United States senate, and those six years mark, perhaps, the most brilliant period of his public career. He had stepped out of the executive mansion to don the toga, and it was not long before evidence was given of the wisdom which prompted the change. In his earlier short term in the senate, Mr. Whyte had been called to perform vastly different service from what was now required of him. To war against popular prejudice, to champion an unloved president, was the most that he then could do; but his second term in the senate found the nation at that period of its life when the democratic party could become constructive once more; when it could, even though in the minority in congress, exert a mighty influence in the nation's affairs.

This term in the senate from 1875 to 1881 is marked by three chapters of unusual brilliancy: these are Senator Whyte's championship of sound currency, at a time when the congress of the United States was being tempted to adopt a false financial policy; his determined opposition to a course in the presidential election of 1876 that lost to

Tilden his undoubted victory over Hayes through the action of the national legislature; and his devising a form of government for the District of Columbia. In the last of these services Senator Whyte made the greatest personal contribution to the nation's welfare, for he labored individually to a larger extent than in either of the other two causes.

It was in 1880 that the rupture between Senator Whyte and Mr. Gorman occurred. The legislature of that year was called upon to select a successor to Senator Whyte, who had some time previously announced that he would not be a candidate for reëlection. Subsequently, however, certain leading democrats declared that the retirement of Mr. Whyte from the United States senate would be an irreparable loss to both state and nation, and they prevailed upon him to alter his purpose. Mr. Whyte had on more than one occasion accepted the decree of other friends of good government in preference to his personal judgment, and he followed a like course now. But in the meantime Mr. Gorman, who had previously disclaimed any intention of seeking senatorial honors, listened to the siren voices of those who would make him Whyte's successor, and his professed determination was changed almost simultaneously with that of Senator Whyte. As a consequence the supporters of the two candidates engaged in a bitter contest for the senatorship, and the Gorman element, having had a slight advantage in point of preparation, won out.

The same year that Senator Whyte retired from congress, the Old Line democrats of Baltimore inaugurated their movement for reform within the party lines. They named Mr. Whyte as their candidate for mayor, and the regular or organization democrats, finding themselves too weak for warring on both the reform candidate and the republicans, also named Mr. Whyte for first place upon the regular

democratic ticket. Then the republicans, duly impressed with the former senator's strength, declined to name an opposing candidate, and so it was that Mr. Whyte was elected mayor of Baltimore without opposition, in 1881. Although he found his new duties somewhat irksome, he held faithfully to the office to which he had been elected; and in some matters, such as the question of the water department, he succeeded in improving the service given the residents of the municipality. It was not long, however, before he once more found himself in conflict with Senator Gorman. In 1882 the so-called "new judge" movement occurred. Several judges were to be elected in Baltimore, and a ticket of men already on the bench—all known to be kindly disposed personally to Mr. Whyte—was regularly named by the democrats. Then the Gorman democrats, who did not favor Whyte's influence in city politics, started a revolt. The war-cry was, that Mayor Whyte was seeking to be dictator in Baltimore's public affairs; new candidates for judges were named and the assertion made that this second ticket was brought into the field solely because of the need for reform in the judiciary. The Gorman forces, aided considerably by republicans, defeated the so-called "Whyte judges," and the next year, 1883, at the close of the mayoralty term for which Mr. Whyte had been elected, he retired from politics and for four years thereafter gave his entire time to his legal practice.

The democratic state convention of 1887, which nominated E. E. Jackson for governor, called Senator Whyte once more into the political arena by naming him, without his permission or knowledge, for attorney-general of Maryland, an office to which his grandfather, William Pinkney, had been elected eighty-two years before. Mr. Whyte was successful in the campaign and for the next four years directed the affairs of the attorney-general's department

with ability and justice. In the year that he terminated his attorney-generalship, Senator Whyte was wedded to Mrs. Raleigh Thomas, a widow who had formerly been Miss Mary McDonald. This marriage, which was solemnized on April 22, 1892, was Mr. Whyte's second. His first wife, to whom he was married December 7, 1847, was Miss Louisa D. Hollingsworth, of Baltimore, who died in 1884.

Mr. Whyte was a member of the commission appointed by Mayor Malster, upon authority accorded by the legislature of 1896, to frame a new charter for Baltimore, and was chairman of this body. The work to be accomplished was monumental; the time at the commission's disposal was unfortunately scant; but the charter commission performed its work judiciously and promptly. President Benjamin Harrison appointed Senator Whyte, in 1889, a delegate to the congress of American nations, but because of pressing public duties the Marylander had to decline the honor.

Appointed city solicitor in 1900, Senator Whyte performed the duties of this office for three years. Senator Whyte retired as city solicitor in 1903, and for the three years thereafter gave his time chiefly to his legal practice. But in 1906, upon the death of Senator Gorman, he was once more called into public service. Governor Warfield appointed Mr. Whyte to the vacant senatorship until the legislature should in due form elect another. The commission bore date of June 8, 1906. In the first democratic senatorial primary in Maryland, held in the fall of 1907, Mr. Whyte was the sole candidate to be his own successor for the remaining portion of Mr. Gorman's unexpired term, and he was given a very flattering vote. He died before the completion of his term, March 17, 1908.



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JAMES BLACK GROOME
1874–1876

XXXVI

JAMES BLACK GROOME

Because a people live under a republican form of government is not conclusive evidence that all, or for that matter that any of them are, as far as political views are concerned, positively republican; no more than can citizenship in a kingdom or principality be finally accepted as the badge of royalism. Indeed, many a royalist is streaked with republican theories, which he seeks to down because he fears they may undermine his royalist faith; seldom, if ever, does the despot believe absolutely in despotism; and the professing democrat is frequently democratic in just so much as suits his worldly purpose. In brief, within a nation whose political doctrines have been produced by natural evolution it is difficult to find a pure type of any particular class of political believer. The masses, of course, are not generally positive in their convictions as are the leaders—or, at least, those who stand forth in strong relief against the background of the average, but even the professions of these conspicuous ones are distressingly often at variance with their conscious opinion. Thus, for example, when colonial word-jugglers cried: "Give us liberty or give us death," the majority had in mind as the attainment of the former simply a continuance of monarchical rule under home-made rulers. On the other hand many a self-styled republican is unable to distinguish the autocratic demagogue from the true democrat.

When, however, the historical student approaches the life of Governor Groome and lays bare the most secret recesses of his public and private career, he is tempted to

write him down—a democrat pure and undefiled. By so doing he may err, but it will be an excusable transgression, for the record left by the man who succeeded Governor Whyte in the executive mansion is deeply impressed with the tracings of a remarkably democratic spirit. A democrat, in the broader sense, is "one who believes in or adheres to democracy as a principle of government or of organized society; one who believes in political and natural equality; an opponent of arbitrary or hereditary distinction of rank and privilege." A man who champions the masses and opposes the classes is too often accorded the credit of being democratic, but he is no more democratic in truth than one who favors the few and is antagonistic to the mass. The real democrat is he who is able to be friendly to the many and the few simultaneously, who will not oppose, instinctively or otherwise, the proud nor the humble, the strong nor the weak, the rich nor the poor; one who will not discriminate in favor of any class because of its class—and such a man was Mr. Groome. The first claim of Governor Groome to posterity's recognition rests upon the fact that he, to an extent never before equaled by a chief magistrate of Maryland, was possessed of a broad and undiluted democracy. Governor Groome, according to a very sane editorial in his home paper at the time of his death, "was everybody's friend. * * * The humblest could approach him without a sense of restraint, but none were so mighty as to feel disposed to trifle with him."

James Black Groome, born on April 4, 1838, at Elkton, Maryland, had his early life cast in an atmosphere of culture and refinement. His father, Col. John Charles Groome, was a man of considerable prominence. A lawyer by profession, he occasionally took a hand in political affairs, and in the exciting times when the know-nothings held Maryland in a grip of steel opposed Thomas H. Hicks for the

governorship, but was defeated. Mrs. Elizabeth (Black) Groome, the governor's mother, was the daughter of Judge Black, of New Castle, Delaware. When an infant, James Black Groome met with an accident that resulted in physical injuries from which he never fully recovered, and throughout his life he had to fight constantly against sickness. When a youth he entered Tennent School, at Hartsville, Pennsylvania, to prepare for Princeton College, but his eyesight failed him and he was forced to abandon his purpose of taking a collegiate course. He made the best of his misfortune, returned home and studied law under his father, and was admitted to the bar of Maryland in 1861.

Unable to take active part in the Civil War, Mr. Groome set himself the task of watching over the interests of those who, because their bodies were stronger, took up arms, and as soon as the conflict had been ended he worked faithfully to repair the injured political fabric. Active among those who favored the calling of a constitutional convention, he was a delegate from Cecil county to the gathering which, in 1867, framed the present constitution of Maryland. Under the operation of the new constitution, Mr. Groome labored untiringly for the success of the democratic party in his own county, though he did not appear for some time as a candidate for office. It was not until 1871 that he asked his neighbors to honor him by sending him to the lower branch of the legislature, and in the election he was successful. He served as a member of the house of delegates in the session of 1872. During this term evidence of Mr. Groome's popularity among the Eastern Shore members was shown when the general assembly met to elect a United States senator, for, although not able to marshal enough votes to make him a very hopeful aspirant, he, nevertheless, had sufficient support for the senatorship to show that he was highly regarded by those who knew him best.

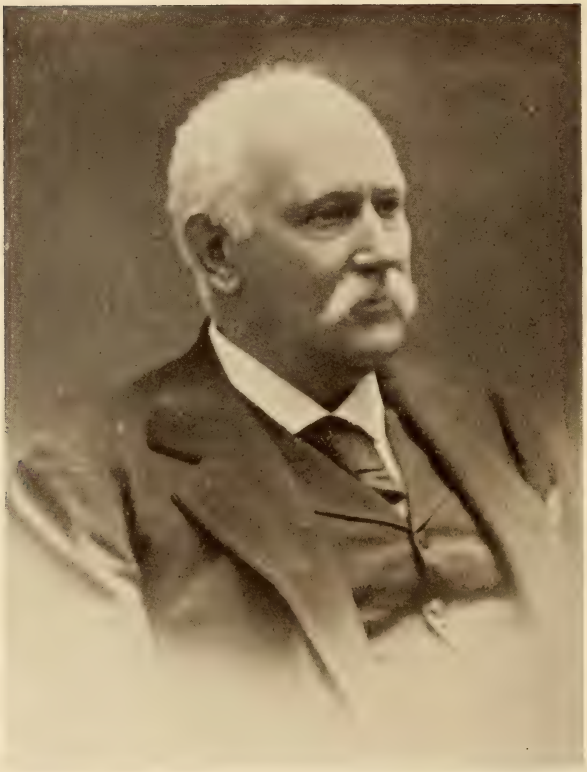
Mr. Groome stood for reëlection in 1873 and was chosen a member of the legislature which met in the following year. Early in the session the general assembly elected William Pinkney Whyte, then governor of Maryland, to a seat in the United States senate; and, while the term for which Mr. Whyte was chosen did not begin until 1875, he immediately placed his resignation as chief magistrate of Maryland before the legislature in order that that body might elect his successor. Of the many aspirants for the honor, Mr. Groome had the heartiest support, and he was elected governor for the unexpired term of Mr. Whyte. The latter relinquished the executive office on March 4, 1874, and Mr. Groome, who assumed the duties upon that occasion, served Maryland as its executive until January 12, 1876, when his successor, John Lee Carroll, was inaugurated.

When Mr. Groome became governor he was just thirty-five years of age, and, therefore, one of the youngest chief magistrates in the history of Maryland. His administration, especially at its close, witnessed much bitter feeling and passion in Maryland, part of which found expression in the contest of the election of several leading state officials. A notable incident in this connection was the effort of S. Teackle Wallis, the unsuccessful candidate for attorney-general in the election of 1875, to prevent the governor from issuing a certificate of election to his opponent, Charles J. M. Gwinn. Governor Groome's position was one of extreme delicacy; here was a political enemy calling upon him to sit in judgment over an election that had been declared in favor of Mr. Gwinn, whom the governor, if he pursued a strictly partisan course, must naturally favor. Throughout this controversy, Mr. Groome showed that same absolute independence of partisan bias which characterized his course generally in administering the affairs of the state. Gwinn was successful in the contest but every opportunity was

given Mr. Wallis to prove his claim. Indeed, Mr. Groome went so far as to choose as his own representative in the case Wallis' attorney, explaining afterwards that he "knew that this selection of counsel would be misunderstood by many and would bring upon me their temporary censure, but I knew, under the peculiar circumstances, that it was eminently the proper one to make, and I made it."

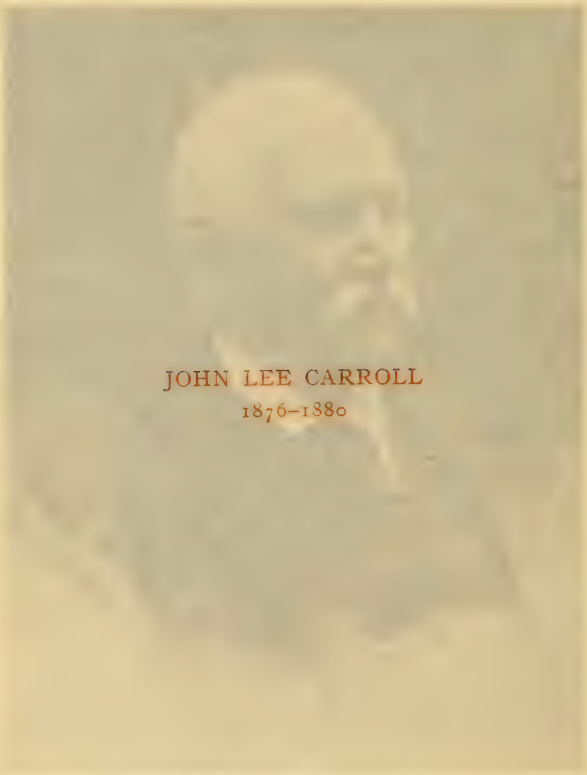
The month following his retirement, Mr. Groome was married, February 29, 1876, to Miss Alice L. Edmondson, of Talbot county. The first years of their married life were passed at the governor's boyhood home in Elkton; later six years were spent in Washington, and upon the close of Mr. Groome's official business in the national capital he purchased a house in Baltimore, where he passed most of his remaining years. The legislature that met in 1878 was called upon to elect a United States senator, and although he had as his opponents such men as ex-Governor Philip Francis Thomas, Montgomery Blair—postmaster-general under Lincoln, and Robert M. McLane, Mr. Groome was chosen for the six years beginning March 4, 1879. The full term that Senator Groome was in congress ran concurrently with the closing two years of Senator Whyte's term and the opening four years of Mr. Gorman's term in the senate, and he did not measure up spectacularly to the activity in the national legislature of either of these Marylanders. He was, however, no pygmy among the congressional giants; he helped to make up the conscience of the senate, he contributed much toward the sound reasoning of the upper house, and he served his state faithfully in the position to which he had been chosen. His record in the senate might have been a somewhat prouder one though it could not have been cleaner, had not ill health at times prevented him taking the part he was well equipped to play.

Senator Groome's term in the senate terminated on March 3, 1885, and on February 17, in the year following, he was appointed by President Cleveland collector of customs at the port of Baltimore. This position—the last public office he held—he filled for the next four years. The remaining years of his life were mostly passed in his Baltimore home, where he died, October 4, 1893. His body was interred in the Presbyterian cemetery at Elkton. No more fitting eulogy could be penned regarding Governor Groome than a certain passage which he himself wrote when making his final address as governor of Maryland to the legislature in January, 1876: "I cannot but recall with pleasure, not unmixed with pride, the fact that all times during my term in office * * * I have freely granted a hearing to every resident of Maryland, however humble, who had a petition to present, a grievance to be redressed or a suggestion in regard to any public matter to make. * * * As to all matters of public interest, I desired the whole people of the state to consider themselves my counselors. If, then, the state has been the loser by the fact that any portion of her citizens did not aid me by their advice in reaching a correct conclusion upon any important matter, the fault was with those citizens, and not with me. But while in season and out of season all who desired it have had free access to me, none has been permitted to obtain a controlling influence. The whole responsibility for the mistakes of my administration, whatever they may be, must rest, therefore, upon me, for all my official acts had the approval of my own judgment."



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working corps could be kept intact.



JOHN LEE CARROLL
1876–1880

XXXVII

JOHN LEE CARROLL

Back in the seventies of the nineteenth century, when times were hard and money scarce, business generally became depressed. To be able to eke out a modest living for his family satisfied the average business man, while the big corporations, which were large employers of labor, found it a matter for careful calculation to make good their reduced payrolls. The railroads especially felt the full burden of the commercial sluggishness, and they were forced to take immediate steps looking toward a lessening of operating expense. This end was obtainable by one of two methods: the reduction of the working forces, which meant that a portion of the employees would be deprived of their entire incomes, or a decrease in the scale of wages, by which the working corps could be kept intact. The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, among others, determined upon the latter course. But when the announcement of this plan was published there resulted some muttering among the workers to be affected, particularly among the firemen and brakemen. This leaven of dissatisfaction spread until it had aroused, even more violently than the men most concerned in the reduction, a host of disinterested laborers, who sympathized with the railroad men chiefly, perhaps, because the general stagnation of business had brought them to the point of ready irritation. A strike was instituted; the strikers were replaced by substitutes; then violence followed and the men who refused to work sought to prevent more willing ones from performing their duties. This initial uprising was mild, but it was sufficient to fire the hearts of

thousands upon thousands of workmen of all grades and of idlers who, as one body, moved to usurp the authority of law in Baltimore and in other parts of Maryland and to inaugurate a season of riot rule.

This crucial moment in the history of Maryland supplies an appropriate background for the study of one of the commonwealth's governors, because the strike afforded him an opportunity for displaying those traits which his otherwise tranquil life had concealed. Inactivity on the part of state officials at this stage was certain to encourage the rioters in their unlawful course; but on the other hand rash activity was equally sure to incite the uprising mobs—which at times numbered as many as 15,000 men and boys—to greater violence. When the Baltimore riot assumed gigantic proportions there entered the arena the chief magistrate of Maryland. He set up his executive office in Baltimore and, entering the very thickest of the fight, he pronounced his courageous and unalterable decree: The law was to be obeyed; if any man had suffered wrong his redress must be through lawful channels, for whoever sought to disobey or disregard the law—whether he had been wronged or not—would find the state powerful and ready to punish him as a public enemy. There was neither class favoritism nor unkindness in his words, but behind the utterance was an irresistible determination and also a hint of that same righteous fearlessness that had prompted Charles Carroll of Carrollton, one hundred years before, to sign the Declaration of Independence—for this chief magistrate of Maryland was a descendant of the illustrious signer: he was Governor Carroll.

John Lee Carroll was born on September 30, 1830, at Homewood, the old Carroll property on Charles Street avenue above Thirty-first street. If noble deeds and virtuous living can put their stamp upon the blood of those

who perform the one and practice the other, then in the veins of the boy there coursed the best colonial blood of Maryland. He was a son of Col. Charles and Mary Digges (Lee) Carroll; the former a grandson of perhaps the most famous public character that Maryland has produced—Charles Carroll, the signer—and the latter a granddaughter of Thomas Sim Lee, who in the early days of Maryland's independence twice served his native state as its chief magistrate. The infant days of John Lee Carroll were passed at Homewood but when he had reached the age of three his father removed to Doughoregan Manor, a much more expansive estate of the Carroll family, situated about six miles from Ellicott City. The boy's elementary studies were pursued under the guidance of private tutors at the manor; but in 1840, when ten years old, he was sent to Mount St. Mary's College, at Emmitsburg, where he remained for two years. He studied for a brief period thereafter at Georgetown College prior to his entrance at St. Mary's College, Baltimore.

During the three years that Mr. Carroll spent in academic studies at St. Mary's he decided to enter the legal profession, and with this end in view he went to Cambridge, Mass., where for two terms he attended the lectures at Harvard Law School. Upon returning to Baltimore he entered the law office of Brown and Brune as a student, and was admitted to the bar upon attaining his majority in 1851. Before beginning his professional career, however, he made a trip to Europe and traveled extensively about the continent. It was in 1854 that he settled down to practice law in his native state, and the following year he was named by the democratic party for the legislature, but was defeated by his know-nothing opponent. About this time Mr. Carroll, while on a visit to New York, met Miss Anita Phelps, daughter of New York's famous merchant, Royal Phelps,

and he was married to her on April 24, 1856. This matrimonial venture of the Marylander threatened to deprive his native state of his citizenship, for, although he continued his law practice in Baltimore until 1858, in that year, upon the solicitation of his father-in-law, he took up his residence in Mrs. Carroll's home city.

Upon removing to New York, Mr. Carroll accepted a position as deputy clerk and United States commissioner in the office of the clerk of the United States district court, his motive being to gain a wide legal acquaintance before setting up his practice in that city. But the declining health of the elder Mr. Carroll and the gathering of war clouds prompted the son to return home in 1861, and thereafter he remained a constant Marylander, although frequently leaving his home for foreign shores. With his return to the manor, the management of the estate fell largely upon his shoulders, and the great plantation, with its 200 slaves, was no light burden in those troubled times. In 1862 the senior Mr. Carroll died, naming John Lee Carroll as his executor. It required the next three years to wind up the affairs of his father. By this settlement Doughoregan became the property of Governor Carroll's brother, Charles, from whom, however, he purchased it in 1867, and thereafter made it his home. The estate is one of the finest in Maryland. The mansion has attached to it a chapel in which the neighbors worship, and here under the altar rests the body of Charles Carroll of Carrollton.

Upon the completion of his labors as his father's executor, Mr. Carroll once more ventured into the field of politics. This was in 1867, when he received the democratic nomination for the state senate, and was elected for a term of four years. At the expiration of his senatorship he appeared for reëlection, and was once more successful. During this second term, Mrs. Carroll died, 1873, and the master of

Doughoregan began preparations for going abroad, in order that he might place his children—his family consisted of five sons and four daughters—in French schools. He remained in America, however, to attend the session of the legislature in the opening months of 1874, and was elected president of the senate during this session. After having entered his sons in the Jesuits College and his daughters in the Convent of the Sacred Heart, near Paris, Senator Carroll returned to America in the early part of 1875, and several months after his arrival he became the democratic nominee for governor of Maryland. The campaign was one of the bitterest in the history of the state. Mr. Carroll was opposed by J. Morrison Harris, who in earlier years had been prominent in the know-nothing party, and much was made by the republican spellbinders of Mr. Carroll's devotion to the Roman Catholic Church. The democratic ticket was elected by a majority of about 10,000 out of a total of 157,984 votes; but immediately the defeated candidates made claims of fraud and intimidation on the part of the democrats. Mr. Carroll's election was contested before the legislature, although the contestants were not able to substantiate their claims; and he was inaugurated on January 12, 1876.

The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad strike—already referred to—was the event of greatest moment in the Carroll administration. It was on July 11, 1877, that the company issued its notice of a reduction of 10 per cent in the wages of all men receiving more than $1 a day. In making the announcement attention was called to the general business depression and the necessity of a more economical management of the company; and the president added: "It is hoped and believed that all persons in the service of the company will appreciate the necessity of and concur cordially in this action." The brakemen and firemen did not, however, "concur cordially."

On the day set for the reduction to go into effect, July 16, there was a concerted refusal on their part to work. The vacancies thus created by the strikers were filled with substitutes, and then the strikers became violent. The strike fever, which was general throughout the Eastern states, was stirred to white heat in Maryland; and on July 20, Governor Carroll concluded to send the Fifth and Sixth Regiments to Cumberland, where the strikers were doing considerable damage to property. But the announcement of this intention created wild excitement in Baltimore. The regiments, due partly to sympathy with the strikers, especially among the members of the Sixth, were slow in reporting at their respective armories. The military call was then rung from the City Hall, but this only increased the general excitement; and for several days thereafter vast mobs of men and boys and women crowded about Camden station determined to oppose the departure of the militia.

By the time the regiments had been marched to Camden station, on July 20, the city was in such a frenzy that Governor Carroll, who was personally directing affairs, did not dare to send away the soldiery that, to all indications, would be needed for the protection of law-abiding citizens of Baltimore and for policing the city. The mob reached such proportions that the governor made an urgent request of President Hayes for aid from the federal government, and he received assurance that the required troops would be hurried to the city. In the meantime, however, the heroic efforts of Baltimore's police and the hearty support of part of the militia enabled the state executive to suppress the riot spirit before the federal troops arrived. The mob had at most been only temporarily quieted; there were still threats of a fresh outbreak; and yet at this stage of the trouble Governor Carroll revealed somewhat of his courage

and solicitude for the people who had entrusted their lives in his hands, by seeking to divert to Cumberland the aid promised by the Washington government to Baltimore. On Saturday, July 21, Camden station was set on fire and other buildings were given to the flames by the rioters. Troops began to arrive from the various federal forts, despite Governor Carroll's cancellation of his request for such aid, and these established themselves in the city with headquarters at Barnum's Hotel, subject to the orders of the governor. Again on the twenty-second an attack was made on Camden station, but on this occasion the forces under Governor Carroll surrounded the rioters and drove several hundred of them into the building, where they were captured, bound and carted off to jail—and the backbone of the uprising in Baltimore was practically broken. By the next day the riot was dead, although the labor conflict continued for some time thereafter in various parts of the country, notably around Pittsburg.

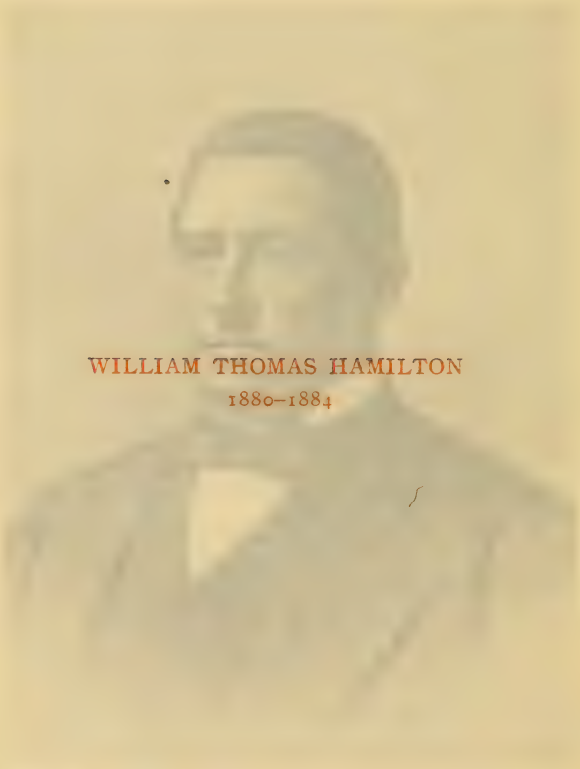
Early in his administration was held the Centennial Exposition, in Philadelphia, and Governor Carroll, who attended with his staff, was given a notable reception. While in the executive mansion, Governor Carroll made his second matrimonial alliance, his bride being Miss Mary Carter Thompson, daughter of Judge Lucas Thompson, of Staunton, Virginia, to whom he was married in April, 1877. Mrs. Carroll died in 1899. After the close of his administration, Mr Carroll contented himself with supervising his Howard county plantation and with looking after his other business and his social engagements. Although asked on several occasions to become a candidate for public service, he declined to re-enter the political field as an aspirant for office, but he frequently served other candidates upon the stump. In the first Cleveland campaign he was especially active, and spoke for the democratic national ticket

throughout the state. Had Governor Carroll done no more than pilot the state safely through the troubled sea of labor disturbances in 1877, he would still be entitled to a large share of fame. But he accomplished other things of permanent value; he did enough outside of his settlement of the labor riots to cause endless regret that his services for the state should have covered so brief a period. From his entrance into office as a member of the legislature, in 1868, to the close of his administration, in 1880, was just twelve years; while the span of his life has so far stretched over seventy-eight years. The shorter period, marked with its brilliant public service, however, does not overshadow the longer period, with the equally meritorious contribution of John Lee Carroll to the weal of the nation in his rôle of a model, public-spirited citizen.



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WILLIAM THOMAS HAMILTON



WILLIAM THOMAS HAMILTON
1880–1884

XXXVIII

WILLIAM THOMAS HAMILTON

Economy, if not actuated by selfishness, is a praiseworthy attribute; when prudence, and not avarice, inspires the economist, he practices an admirable virtue, and one most difficult to cultivate. It matters not whether the field of his activity be in the home or in the outside world, the righteous economist deserves a wreath of roses—or if he pursues his practice in the political world, a halo, for the world politic is not the place best adapted for introducing economic doctrines. With the subject of political administration there is strongly associated in the public mind an idea of necessary extravagance with public funds and a disregard of the return received for salaries paid to public servants, whose employment is looked upon as part of the patronage falling to political workers. For this reason, while the theoretical economist makes an admirable candidate, the practical economist, if given office, is apt to prove disappointing to the "spoils-seekers" of his party. The men, as a rule, who most heartily support a man for an elective office carrying with it some patronage in the form of appointments, look to that candidate, if successful, for favors. Since the days of President Jackson the motto of political parties in the United States has been: "To the victor belong the spoils"—and "spoils" here is synonymous with everything but the elective office itself.

Bearing this in mind, it is not difficult to see that a party man, if elected by his organization to an office rich in patronage, would soon fall into disfavor if he not only refused to regard public offices as "spoils" but immediately upon

entering office sought to reduce the number of public positions to be filled. Herein is found an explanation for Governor Hamilton's falling out with the so-called "leaders" of his party and for the opposition which he encountered in the closing years of his life from party workers who had once labored for his success. Mr. Hamilton was a political economist, or, more properly, he was an economical politician. The ruling passion of his life was to lighten the people's burden of taxation. But light taxation is not to be obtained unless there is economical administration, and economical administration is impossible without honest administrators, while honest administrators cannot win office unless the ballot is maintained undefiled—so his endeavor led him to support a series of reforms all of which were distasteful to a large part of his political bedfellows.

Born at Hagerstown, September 8, 1820, the infancy and early childhood days of William Thomas Hamilton were passed at Boonsboro, the parental homestead. Deprived of his mother at the age of six years, and two years later of his father, Henry Hamilton, he was placed under the guardianship of his three uncles. These relatives—the brothers of his mother, whose maiden name had been Anna Mary M. Hess—were engaged in farming, and also conducted a mill and general merchandise store. The lad, thus intimately associated with business men, early developed those traits which characterized him in after years—self-reliance, an indomitable will, and the spirit of combativeness which readily comes to a boy thrown upon his own resources. The elementary training of the boy was acquired from James Brown, a happy mixture of pedagogue and politician; and from this preceptor the youth doubtless received his taste for politics. He received his college preparatory training at Hagerstown Academy, and studied for four years—1836:1840—at Jefferson College, Cannonsburg, Pa. Upon

his return to Hagerstown, he entered the office of John Thomson Mason as a law student, and in 1843 was admitted to the bar. Although Mr. Hamilton developed into a capable attorney, the legal profession was with him a secondary pursuit, for throughout his career he centered his interest on politics. It was not, however, for selfish motives that Mr. Hamilton slighted other matters for public service; indeed it is doubtful if any man gave less thought to the emoluments that were to be obtained from public office. It was rather an affection for the great body of the common people that prompted him to seek service as their servant, and that ever guided his course while performing the duties of their representative. In the legislative campaign of 1846, Mr. Hamilton was elected a member of the house of delegates upon the democratic ticket, and during the session which followed he was an ardent supporter of Governor Pratt in his fight against a repudiation by Maryland of her debts. Pratt was a whig, and it was perhaps largely due to Hamilton's support of the enemy of his party that he met with defeat when he appeared for reëlection in 1847.

The next year (1848) Mr. Hamilton made his appearance in national politics as a presidential elector for Lewis Cass, the opponent of Zachary Taylor; and in 1849 he was the nominee of his party for the house of representatives. The tariff question was at this time agitating the American people and the eyes of the nation were upon Maryland, to which the democratic party looked for the deciding sentiment which should mean democracy's ascendancy or decline. Mr. Hamilton made the slogan of his campaign: "Tariff for revenue only," a doctrine which he must have known would be distasteful to a large portion of the people of whom he asked support; he was, nevertheless, elected and during his first term in congress became a staunch follower of Henry Clay. Congressman Hamilton was reëlected in

1851, and toward the close of this second term he announced his intention of retiring from the house. He was, however, prevailed upon again to be a congressional candidate, and had as his opponent the fiery Francis Thomas, who filled many public offices, including that of governor of Maryland. Mr. Thomas, although originally a democrat, ran as an independent candidate, and the contest between him and Mr. Hamilton was a spirited one; the latter, however, gained the victory. This third term in congress witnessed Mr. Hamilton as the champion of President Franklin Pierce.

Congressman Hamilton again asked to be relieved of office in 1855, but once more he was persuaded to enter the campaign because he was regarded as the strongest available democrat to do battle with the know-nothing candidate. But know-nothingism was then all-powerful in Maryland, and Mr. Hamilton was defeated for congress in 1855. With the termination of his third term in the house of representatives he retired from political life and it was some years later—indeed, not until after the adoption of the state constitution of 1867—before he was again prevailed upon to seek public office. He had been married in September 8, 1850, to Miss Clara Jenness, a daughter of Richard Jenness of Portsmouth, N. H. After his marriage the care of a family demanded much of his time and proved an incentive to choose such occupations as would permit him to remain in Hagerstown or at his country home nearby, and, although he was solicited to become a candidate for the governorship in 1861, he refused to allow his friends to present his name to the convention. During these years of retirement Mr. Hamilton devoted his entire time to the law partnership which he had formed with Richard H. Alvey, later judge of the court of appeals.

Mr. Hamilton made his reappearance as a political factor in 1868, when he came out as an aspirant for senatorial

honors. The ballot of the general assembly, taken on January 17, 1868, gave Mr. Hamilton 56 votes; Thomas Swann, 46, and William M. Merrick, 7. Hamilton thus received just enough to be elected, and he served in the United States senate from March 4, 1869, until March 3, 1875. During this period he wrote himself down as a mighty foe of administrative extravagance. When the so-called "salary grab" was attempted none fought it more determinedly than did he. It was in March, 1873, that congress undertook a general increasing of the nation's payroll for the Washington officials. The president's salary was raised from $25,000 to $50,000 a year; the pay of members of the bench of the supreme court and cabinet officials was increased $2000 a year and the salaries of senators and representatives was changed from $5000 to $7000. But congress, in its very generous mood, decreed that its own increase should date from 1871, or two years before the increase was actually authorized. Senator Hamilton not only fought the bill, but when it had finally been passed he refused to accept the back salary which it declared him entitled to draw. It was his action and that of a few other equally honest members of congress that cleared the way for that public condemnation which necessitated congress, because of adverse sentiment, to repeal all the provisions of the bill except those concerning the salaries of the president and members of the supreme bench.

Mr. Hamilton also cast his influence for righteous legislation by his hearty and unwavering support of all measures tending to civil service reform. At the termination of his senatorial service, in 1875, Mr. Hamilton appeared as candidate for the gubernatorial nomination. He had some little strength in the convention, but his economical views were not, perhaps, too much relished by the leaders, and John Lee Carroll became the party's nominee. In the

democratic state convention of 1879, Senator Hamilton, however, was unanimously nominated for governor. He was opposed by James A. Gary, who subsequently served as a member of President McKinley's official family. In the election the democratic candidate was chosen by a majority of more than 22,000 votes.

The keynote of the administration of the state executive office for the next four years, from January 14, 1880, to January 9, 1884, was "reform." Throughout his term as governor, Mr. Hamilton was constantly an obstacle in the way of those members of the legislature who pursued corrupt practices or indulged in extravagant legislation. This naturally brought him in conflict with the legislative branch of the government, which was in a measure inclined toward liberal patronage, and also in conflict with state leaders, who were behind that particular portion of the legislature which Governor Hamilton opposed. The addresses of the chief magistrate to the general assembly were frank arraignments of those who sought to spend the commonwealth's money recklessly or dishonestly. He exposed certain methods by which public officers of the state endeavored to create the impression that the treasury was in better condition than was actually the case. The effort to make up the state's deficiency by taking money from the school taxes was held up to condemnation; the creation of certain useless offices carrying large salaries and the maintenance of others equally useless were fearlessly denounced.

It is not difficult to find in all this ground for a growing dissatisfaction with Governor Hamilton on the part of those leaders of his own party who received the brunt of his criticism, and therefore it is not surprising that before his term as state executive should have expired he was in more or less disfavor with those whose reprehensible methods he refused to wink at. It is not really hazardous to write

down the clean administration of Mr. Hamilton as his farewell appearance as a large figure in Maryland politics; nor is it, perhaps, any more hazardous to credit the termination of his activity in state politics to his break with the democratic leaders because of his honest economic policies. Nevertheless, he served to a considerable extent in the presidential election of 1884, which was in the fall following his retirement as governor, and in Washington county he never lost his prestige. He was at the time of his death more dearly loved and more generally looked up to by his neighbors than at any eariler period in his life. When he breathed his last, on October 26, 1888, the town of Hagerstown, and the county of which it is the governmental pivot were both brought under a shadow; the citizens felt that a personal and a public friend had been lost. On the day of the funeral of the Maryland statesman business was suspended while the people of Hagerstown followed the body to Rose Hill Cemetery. To Mr. Hamilton, Hagerstown is largely indebted for its new charter, for its improved streets, electric lights, waterworks and other municipal improvements.

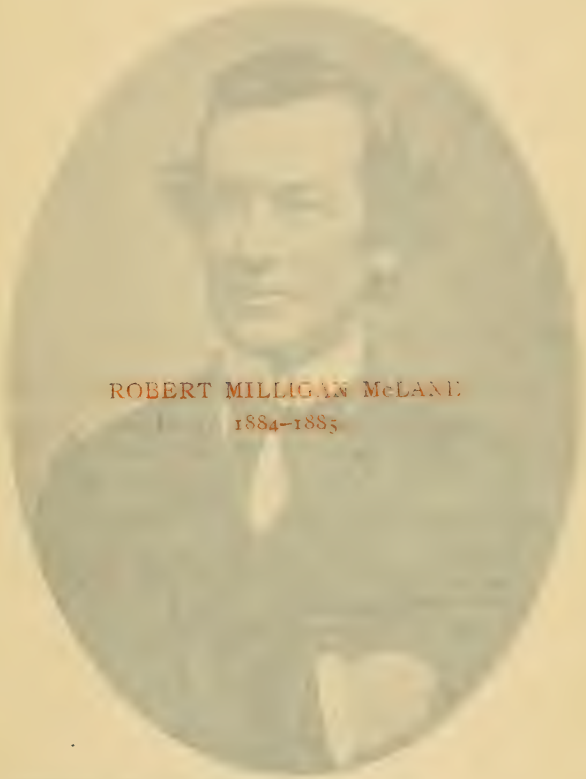
In his native city Mr. Hamilton left many monuments to his ability and public spirit. In his own state he wrote an inspiring record of honest and economical administration of state affairs. But perhaps in the book of the nation he left the most pleasing account of his high ideals as a public official. The man who stood for "administrative economy, low tariff taxes and honest methods in politics," made a unique record on the pages of the history of the United States congress. At no time in his public career did he rise higher than when he refused to obey a law which had been enacted to enable his colleagues to rob the nation and, by that refusal, forced his less righteous fellow-senators to return to the national treasury their ill-gotten booty.

XXXIX

ROBERT MILLIGAN McLANE

Three general divisions are necessary for a proper classification of Maryland's governors. In the first of these are comprised those chief magistrates whose public services at no time gave their political activities more than a strictly local aspect. The second division takes in such executives as have at some time in their public careers exerted an influence upon national affairs. These men may have served in congress, or they may have exercised their talents for the nation's good in other channels—in the cabinet, on the bench, or in the army or navy. Finally, there is a third class—the men who assumed the dignity of being factors in world politics. Of these there are naturally very few—that occasional public character whose labors bore results in lands outside the United States, who left his stamp upon the history of the entire world—and among the few in this division there is no name more deserving of inclusion than that of Governor McLane.

Robert Milligan McLane was born in Wilmington, Del., on June 23, 1815. His father, Louis McLane, had been frequently and greatly honored by the state of Delaware and the federal government, but in 1837 he withdrew from public affairs and came to Baltimore to assume the presidency of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. Through his maternal ancestry, however, the state of Maryland has greater claim to Governor McLane than that acquired by this change of residence, for Mrs. Louis McLane, who before her marriage had been Miss Catherine Mary Milligan, was a resident of Cecil county, Maryland. The initial



ROBERT MILLIGAN McLANE
1884–1885

XXXIX

ROBERT MILLIGAN McLANE



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schooling of young McLane was acquired under the tutorage of John Bullock, a Quaker who conducted an academy in Wilmington. Mr. McLane continued at this institution until 1827, when he entered St. Mary's College, Baltimore. Two years later Mr. McLane, Sr., was appointed United States minister at the Court of St. James, and his son accompanied him abroad, although he separated from his father and went to Paris, where he pursued his studies at the College Bourbon. The McLanes remained in Europe until 1831, when the elder McLane was called back to America to accept the treasury portfolio under President Jackson. At the same time his son was appointed by the president to a cadetship at the United States Military Academy, from which institution he was graduated in 1837.

Upon leaving West Point Mr. McLane was commissioned second lieutenant in the First Artillery, and went to Florida, where he saw service under General Jessup. In the following year he was placed in the army commanded by General Scott, and took part in the Cherokee campaign. In the latter part of the year 1838, however, Mr. McLane was transferred to the newly organized corps of topographical engineers. The secretary of war, in January, 1841, commissioned Lieutenant McLane and a fellow-officer to go to Holland and Italy to examine officially the dykes and drainage, respectively, of these two countries and to make a detailed report on them to the government. During this expedition Mr. McLane entered into a matrimonial alliance. The bride was Miss Georgine Urquhart, daughter of David Urquhart, a merchant of Louisiana, and the marriage was solemnized in Paris on August 2, 1841. This change in the domestic life of the officer unquestionably proved the final incentive to his breaking away from a profession for which his affection had waned somewhat in the years immediately preceding his marriage. Mr. McLane had

during his military service prepared himself for the bar and had been admitted to practice in the District of Columbia early in the forties. After his return to America, he continued with the army for two years, supervising engineering work in the vicinity of New Orleans and elsewhere. In the meantime, however, he was planning to make a change of profession, and in October, 1843, resigned his commission and took up his residence in Baltimore, where he began to practice law.

Mr. McLane did not conceal for long his real motive in taking up law in Maryland. In the year following his resignation from the army, when Henry Clay was opposing Mr. Polk for the presidential chair, he gave liberally of his time and ability to the cause of the democrats, and during the campaign made a strong impression in Maryland through both the manner of delivery and the substance of his political addresses. In the year 1845 he received the democratic nomination as one of Baltimore's representatives in the house of delegates, and was elected. When the legislature convened he became a champion of Governor Pratt in his honest financial plan for Maryland's debts. He was also hearty in his advocacy of constitutional reform—a matter in which Baltimore especially was interested—and upon his legislative record generally he succeeded in obtaining, a year later, the democratic nomination for congress.

Thus in the very morning of his political career Mr. McLane cast off the lines of strictly local affairs and stood ready to take up his position among the legislators of the nation. In the ensuing campaign he came out boldly in support of the administration regarding Texas and Mexico, and was elected over the whig candidate. Upon his entrance into the house of representatives he continued his championship of President Polk's course in connection with the republic to the south of the United States. Mr. McLane was

reëlected to congress in 1849. In 1851 he was engaged as counsel for a large mining concern which was experiencing some difficulty over its property in California, and his professional duties necessitated a trip to the Pacific Coast. The business was less easily settled than had at first been anticipated, and it was not until 1852 that the lawyer was able to return to the East. Nevertheless, he appeared as elector for Franklin Pierce in the presidential campaign of 1852 and upon the induction of the latter into the presidential office the Marylander began his career as a diplomat.

China was weighed down with religious revolution, and the relations between the empire of the East and the more advanced western nations was thrown into something like chaos. As things went from bad to worse, England, France and America became greatly alarmed over the situation. President Pierce appointed Mr. McLane commissioner to China, with power of minister plenipotentiary, and accredited him at the same time to Japan, Siam, Korea and Cochin China. He gave him as an escort a rather formidable collection of boats, and told him to go and settle the trouble with the Chinese. He was called upon to perform the difficult feat of remaining on friendly terms with the imperial government and at the same time treating officially with the revolutionists, who were the enemies of the imperial administration; and he accomplished this feat with much credit. As soon as Mr. McLane had become convinced that his presence in the East was no longer required, he requested his government to recall him, and was relieved in the summer of 1855.

Mr. McLane returned to America in time to take part in the preliminaries of the presidential campaign of 1856. He was active in organizing the convention which placed James Buchanan in nomination, and he rendered much service to the national democratic ticket. For the next

few years legal engagements kept him from public service, but he was called upon by President Buchanan in 1859 to perform another delicate diplomatic mission for the government. In June, 1858, friendly relations between the United States and Mexico were rudely terminated, and Envoy Forsyth was instructed by the state department to demand his passport of the Mexican government. The nations nursed a feeling of bitter hostility from that time until early in 1859, when Mr. McLane was sent as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to Mexico, to seek to protect the property of American citizens and consummate some deal whereby order might be brought out of the disturbed and anarchical state of affairs in the republic. He was honored with the rather unusual "discretionary authority to recognize the government of President Juarez, if, on his arrival in Mexico, he should find it entitled to such recognition, according to the established practice of the United States." And he did recognize the government, on April 7, 1859, and thereby threw not a little moral support to the administration of Juarez, which shortly thereafter became more firmly established.

Mr. McLane dealt with the Mexican government more than a year, and succeeded in gaining desirable concessions for the people of the United States. A treaty which was drawn and signed by him in behalf of the United States, met with the hearty approval of the government at Washington. Before its final ratification, however, there had come about the change in the administration from Buchanan to Lincoln. Anticipating the approach of a serious rupture between north and south, and realizing the uselessness of further endeavor in Mexico at that time, Mr. McLane requested the government to relieve him of the Mexican post, and he returned to Baltimore in December, 1860.

Upon his arrival in Maryland, Mr. McLane immediately

assumed his part in the agitation that was then distressing the nation. He was unreservedly opposed to the coercion of a state, but he was by no means a believer in the right of secession, and throughout the troubled days of 1861-65 he labored for an adjustment of the differences between the north and south. Before the iron grip of the military had been finally fastened upon Maryland the legislature appointed a commission to go to Washington and protest against the unconstitutional proceedings of the federal troops in the Old Line state. Mr. McLane was named as a member of this body, which by its report was largely influential in preventing any legislative move at that time toward secession. During the years of the conflict Mr. McLane was considerably occupied by his legal duties. He entered the service of the Western Pacific Railroad Company in 1863, and this post necessitated his traveling frequently between New York, the Pacific, and Paris. After the war he continued to devote his time almost exclusively to his legal practice, and it was not until 1876 that he once more assumed the position of prominence which he had held in national affairs up to the outbreak of hostilities. In 1876 he appeared in the democratic convention which nominated Samuel J. Tilden. The next year he received the democratic nomination for the state senate and was elected. In 1878 he was named for congress and was chosen again to the ower branch of the national legislature. He came before the people for reëlection in 1880 and was chosen for a second term, thus giving him for a second time two full terms in congress.

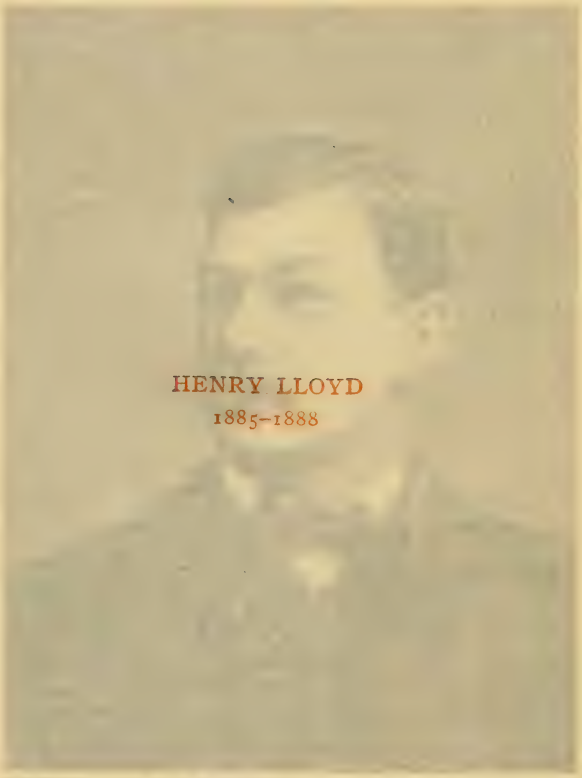
There were exciting days in congress when Mr. McLane represented his state for a second time, and in the midst of the excitement was generally found the Marylander, who had no superior as a ready debater or a fearless champion. The cause he represented was that of a minority which was

capable during much of the time of doing little more than holding the republicans in check. Corruption in public office was widespread, graft was the order of things then; but through it all Congressman McLane stood up for clean politics and efficient administration of public affairs. His service in congress extended from 1879 to 1883.

In 1883 Mr. McLane was nominated by the democrats for governor and was elected in the fall. He was inaugurated governor on January 8, 1884, but within a little more than a year—which had not been eventful in Maryland affairs—he was offered the post of minister to France by President Cleveland, and surrendered the executive mansion that he might accept the foreign mission. On March 27, 1885, Governor McLane resigned the gubernatorial chair to State Senator Henry Lloyd—who, as president of the senate, was entitled to become acting governor—and went abroad. He served as minister to France throughout President Cleveland's administration. After his successor had been named he continued to reside in the French capital, which he chose as his residence for the remaining years of his life. He died in Paris on April 16, 1898, but his remains were brought to America, and interred in the family burial lot at Greenmount Cemetery, Baltimore.



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HENRY LLOYD
1885–1888

XL

HENRY LLOYD

When Governor Whyte was elected United States senator in 1874, he immediately tendered the general assembly, then in session, his resignation as chief magistrate of Maryland in order that that body might at once provide a successor, and Mr. Groome was elected governor for the unexpired term. When Governor McLane, however, determined in 1885 to relinquish his office to accept the post of United States minister to France, conditions were not favorable for so prompt a filling of the vacancy in the executive mansion. At the time of Mr. McLane's appointment as minister to France the legislature was not in session, nor was it scheduled to meet for nearly a year. As a consequence there began with the retirement of Governor McLane practically an unfilled vacancy in the executive mansion, for the temporary successor provided by the constitution was merely acting-governor. Thus, for instance, in early state days the president of the governor's council became acting-executive in event of the disability or disqualification of his chief, serving until another governor was duly elected. When George Plater died in 1792, James Brice became acting-governor, and again when Robert Wright resigned in 1809, James Butcher was made acting-governor; yet neither is entitled to inclusion among the governors of Maryland. When Governor McLane retired as chief magistrate of Maryland, the duties of his office fell upon the shoulders of the president of the state senate, Henry Lloyd, who became acting-governor. Between the status of Mr. Lloyd, however, and that of Mr. Brice and Mr.

Butcher there was this difference: the earlier constitution directed the acting-governor immediately to issue a call for the legislature to meet in extra session and elect a new governor, while the later constitutional provision entitled the acting-governor to serve as such until the legislature, if not in session, should regularly assemble for its next session.

With the retirement, therefore, of Governor McLane in 1885 Mr. Lloyd became acting-executive and thus entered the class to which belong Brice and Butcher in Maryland history; but when the legislature met early in 1886 it added its confirmation to a selection which had been in a measure the result of chance and elected Mr. Lloyd governor for the remaining portion of Mr. McLane's unexpired term, which was to extend to January 11, 1888. It would be difficult to find two men more unlike than Mr. McLane and his successor. The former—the native son of another state—seemed ever on the alert for some public service which should carry him into foreign fields, while Governor Lloyd is the typical Eastern Shoreman, believing that the strip of land stretching between the Atlantic and the Chesapeake is the only bit of country which the destructive floods of Noah's days never reached; that he inhabits the exclusive remnant of Eden undefiled. Again, Mr. McLane was a born combatant and the scent of battle was as a sweet fragrance in his nostrils, while his successor is a peace-loving man, who bears rather the olive branch than the ultimatum and who apparently rejoices most in triumphs won far from the scene of conflict.

Henry Lloyd was born at Hambrooke, near Cambridge, on February 21, 1852. His father, Daniel Lloyd, was a son of the second Governor Edward Lloyd and a native of Talbot, but removed to Dorchester county. On his paternal side Henry Lloyd is descended from the Edward

Lloyd who settled in Maryland in 1649, and from whom sprang two namesakes who served as chief magistrates of Maryland—one in 1709 and the other in 1809. On his maternal side, too, Mr. Lloyd inherited the blood of a Maryland governor, his mother, Mrs. Kitty Henry Lloyd, having been a granddaughter of Governor John Henry. Mr. Henry Lloyd acquired at the schools of Cambridge his elementary training, and later entered the Cambridge Academy, from which he was graduated at the age of nineteen. He then took up the profession of pedagogue and joined the faculty of his *alma mater*—a connection which remained intact for some years after he had entered upon the practice of law. Under the guidance of his uncle, Congressman Daniel M. Henry, and that of Judge Charles F. Goldsborough, another relative, Mr. Lloyd upon the close of his student days took up the study of law and was admitted to the bar in April, 1873, although the volume of his legal business did not necessitate an immediate relinquishment of his post as instructor in the academy.

Several years after his admission to the bar, Mr. Lloyd began his career as an officeholder; this was in 1875 when he was appointed auditor of the court. Although this initial public post was not one of large importance, it is of interest because it indicates Mr. Lloyd's leaning toward the judiciary rather than the legislative office. It was not until 1881, or eight years after he had been authorized to practice law, that the future governor appeared as a candidate for elective office. He aspired, however, at this time to an office of some importance, asking his fellow-countians to send him to the state senate. Mr. Lloyd, nevertheless, had not aspired too high, for he was elected a member of the upper branch of the state legislature for the sessions of 1882 and 1884. During the earlier session, although a novice at law-making, he created a good impression by his

discretion and executive ability, and when the legislature met early in 1884 his name was mentioned for the presidency of the state senate. Another candidate for the same position was Mr. Edwin Warfield, of Howard county, who shared with Mr. Lloyd the distinction of being one of the two strongest aspirants for the chair. It is related that these two candidates met and Mr. Lloyd requested his rival from Howard county to defer for a session his ambition, reasoning that Mr. Warfield had just been elected for another full term, while he, Mr. Lloyd, was in the closing year of his term and not too sanguine of being returned. At all events, Mr. Warfield withdrew and Mr. Lloyd was chosen executive of the senate, and by virtue of his office he became shortly thereafter, upon the resignation of Governor McLane, acting governor, only to be elected governor at the next subsequent meeting of the legislature.

Mr. Lloyd became acting-governor on March 27, 1885, and he continued as such for nearly a year. When the legislature met in January, 1886, he sent to it the customary message from the executive mansion, and in this he set forth the change that had taken place in the state administration; he pointed out to the general assembly its need of electing a successor to Governor McLane; and he also dwelt—though apparently rather because the governor's message was expected to do so than from any wish to appear desirous of influencing legislation—upon certain matters of public concern which he thought required attention. There is at least one point in this message deserving of more than passing notice. The acting governor gave his unreserved endorsement to a desired constitutional reform that had been advocated for many years before, namely; that the governor of Maryland should be accorded the power to veto a single item upon any general appropriation bill. The practice among highwaymen-legislators of tacking a

dishonest appropriation to some general bill, thus making it a part of a measure that was favored by honest statesmen and leaving them no choice between passing the dishonest appropriation or destroying the good measure, met with no favor at his hand.

As soon as the legislature of 1886 had been organized, a vote was taken for a successor to Governor McLane. But two candidates were named, Mr. Robert B. Dixon, of Talbot county, and Mr. Lloyd. Of the 114 ballots cast the latter received 100 and, having been declared elected governor of Maryland, he was formally inaugurated the following day, January 21, 1886. The next two years, or until Governor Lloyd was succeeded by Mr. Jackson on January 11, 1888, were not momentous ones in the history of Maryland; that is, there was a general run of prosperity; the wheels of the government moved smoothly; and the state, except in one or two isolated cases, was spared from those agitations which are apt to occur when business is depressed or the people become discontented under some unjust or burdensome tax. When Governor Lloyd was about to retire from office he very modestly declared: "While I cannot take any special credit to myself for these happy results, it is, nevertheless, gratifying to know that these circumstances exist when I surrender the trust confided to me." There is no reason for supposing that Governor Lloyd regretted the absence of momentous events which meant that in most respects his administration should assume an aspect of the commonplace in history, for, as has already been inferred, peace is preferable to the Dorchester countian to war with its more sensational glories. But at the same time his judicious course in subsequent years while on the bench leave no room for doubting how Mr. Lloyd would have measured as governor in an emergency calling for courage and energy.

Upon the termination of his term as governor, Mr. Lloyd resumed his legal practice in his native town of Cambridge. But in 1892 he was afforded an opportunity of entering public service again, without, however, being required to forsake the legal atmosphere that appealed to him more strongly than service in the legislative or the administrative departments. In that year his uncle and former preceptor, Judge Charles F. Goldsborough, died and Mr. Lloyd was appointed by Governor Brown to fill temporarily the vacancy caused by his death, until the people of the district should elect another judge at a regular election. In the following fall, Judge Lloyd was named for a full term of fifteen years upon the bench of the first judicial circuit and was elected. His course during the many years of his career as a judge has been wise and impartial, and his decisions have been uniformly well rendered both as concerns equity and law. He has done his full share, also, in raising to its present high standard the judiciary of the state. Mr. Lloyd's services on the bench were brought to a close in 1908, when, through the workings of a newly passed retiring bill, he was relieved from active service.

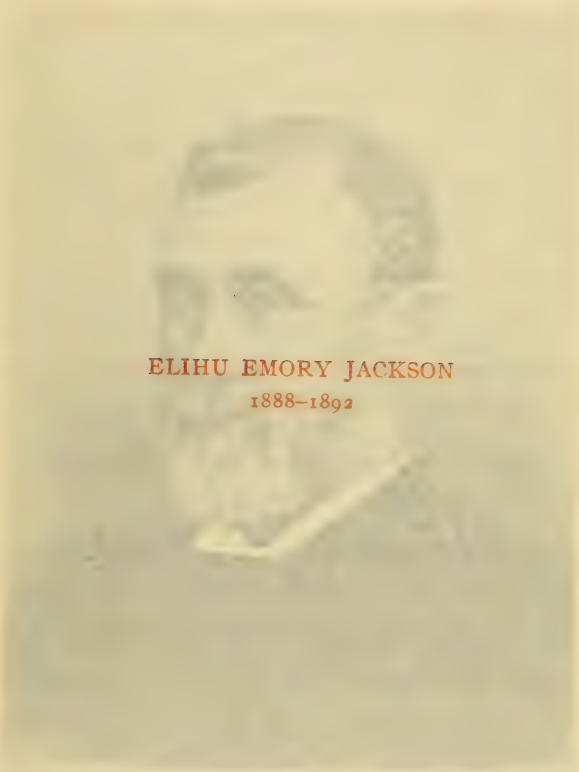
With the beginning of his career as a member of the bar, Governor Lloyd entered upon his service in connection with the Masonic order. He was initiated into the fraternal organization in 1873, and has ever since been prominent in its affairs, having served in 1885 and again in 1886 as senior grand warden of the lodge. During the first year of his governorship, or on October 18, 1886, Mr. Lloyd was married to Miss Mary Elizabeth Stapleforte, daughter of William T. and Virginia A. Stapleforte, of Dorchester county. Since his appointment to the bench, Judge Lloyd's activity has, of course, been confined largely to the Eastern Shore. In his home county, and especially in Cambridge, he has taken a leading part in strictly local affairs,

having been president of the Dorchester National Bank since it was organized in 1889. He has also taken a deep interest in the affairs of Christ Protestant Episcopal Church, at Cambridge. This concern of Judge Lloyd in the local affairs of the Eastern Shore is responsible to a considerable degree for the fact that he has failed in later years to assume the position in state affairs which might be regarded as his by right of the earlier promises his public labors gave. For this reason the histories of Maryland yet to be written may slight him, since, in truth, his legislative service and his short administration were not noteworthy as regards the spectacular. The native-born historian of the Eastern Shore, however, will always write Governor Lloyd down as a worthy offspring of those early pioneers of the state who founded one of the most distinguished colonial families of Maryland; and of that family of Lloyds which has often written its name upon the pages of Maryland's history Judge Lloyd is a distinguished member.

XLI

ELIHU EMORY JACKSON

Shortly after the close of the Civil War, the democratic party of Maryland was returned to power by the same movement practically which resulted in the constitution of 1867. The party's formidable strength from then on seemed to stamp out even as a remote possibility the hope of the republicans winning back the state machinery. This prompted the democratc leaders now and then to indulge in plays that were more profitable than virtuous, and so in due course the party fell into ill-favor, not only with its political opponents, but with the more righteous members of its own belief. Both the party leaders of the better sort and the party press became active toward the approach of the state convention of 1887 in a campaign to free the controlling organization in Maryland from the features which had not unjustly called forth condemnation. And in the convention of that year there is seen the beginning of an era when the individual candidate, if he carried with him enough popular favor, could demand from the organization a certain amount of recognition. Although in the early part of the convention which was to name the state ticket, each section presented its particular candidate, the convention ended with all party members in perfect harmony, and the people of Maryland were permitted to view a political meeting in which neither scheming nor trickery was the order of the day, but a sane consideration of the good of the party. The gubernatorial candidate chosen was one whose primary claim to the confidence of the people was his commercial success and his business reputation.



ELIHU EMORY JACKSON
1888–1892

VII

ELIHU EMORY JACKSON



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When Mr. Jackson was named for governor the greatest appeal that could be made in his behalf was his business ability. When he was elected to the office of state executive it is probable that his business ability was still accepted by the voters as his chief recommendation. And in reviewing the administration of the Eastern Shoreman—indeed, in a review of his entire life—the one dominant note must be "business."

Elihu Emory Jackson was born near Salisbury on November 3, 1837. His father, Hugh Jackson, was a hard-working man, but his home was not, perhaps, as humble as some stump speakers of the later eighties painted it. Elihu Emory Jackson, who was the eldest of seven children, received as good an education as the country school of his neighborhood afforded. For some time after closing his school career, he aided his father in the management and cultivation of the farm, but there was ever present with him the desire to cut free from the home ties—not because of their restraint, but because they meant limitation of commercial possibilities—and to make a shift in the great big world for himself. During the period of preparation he hoarded up as much money as he could earn, and finally, with sufficient capital to warrant a venture on his own account, he left for Delmar where he engaged in business. This was in 1859, shortly after Mr. Jackson had attained his majority, and he chose the town of Delmar as the scene of his venture because it was then the terminus of the Delaware railroad. For four years he continued at Delmar building up for himself a reputation, increasing his capital and adding rapidly to his business experience. In 1863, after the railroad had been extended to Salisbury, he moved his business there. He opened a general merchandise and dry goods establishment, and also handled both lumber and grain. His father and his eldest brother were admitted into

the partnership with him at the time of his removal to Salisbury, and as his other brothers reached manhood they also were taken into the business, which was conducted under the firm name of E. E. Jackson & Co. A history of this firm is the story of Governor Jackson's advance from the position of a very modest merchant to that of one of the largest lumber dealers in the country.

The officeholding period of Mr. Jackson's career covered a comparatively small part of his whole life, although immediately upon becoming a voter he manifested much interest in political affairs. His excursion into the doubtful field of candidacy for office, however, was to all appearances but a brief interruption to a life which had been devoted primarily to great lumber interests; while his concern in state political affairs found a close second to his interest in the municipal affairs of his home town, Salisbury. It was in 1882, when Mr. Jackson was a man of forty-five, that he first received at the hands of the people among whom he had so long been prominent in the world of business the nomination for an elective office. In that year he was elected to the house of delegates; and two years later, at the next legislative election, he was returned to the legislature, though this time he was sent to the upper branch of the general assembly. At the close of the session of 1886, when Edwin Warfield resigned as president of the senate in order to accept the post of surveyor of the port of Baltimore, Mr. Jackson was elected his successor.

The rise of Mr. Jackson as a political factor from the time of his first election to the legislature, in 1882, to the time set for the state convention of 1887 was remarkable. From a great and influential business man who manifested some interest in political affairs he grew to be the strongest candidate whom the Eastern Shoremen could offer the convention as their choice for the gubernatorial nomination.

The delegates from Western Maryland were in favor of Mr. L. Victor Baughman, while the section in between—which comprised Baltimore city and the surrounding counties—was for Mayor Hodges of Baltimore, who was, however, a bone of contention in a measure even among the people of his own section. For some time a deadlock seemed threatened, but on the sixth ballot the Baltimore county delegation threw its support to Mr. Jackson, and its lead was promptly followed by all the Hodges' supporters, giving Mr. Jackson the nomination before the spectators could fully realize the drift in his direction Harmony was the cry of the leaders among the delegates, and General Baughman himself moved to make Mr. Jackson's choice unanimous. At the election, on November 8, 1887, Elihu E. Jackson defeated Walter B. Brooks, the republican candidate for governor.

Governor Jackson, during the four years that he directed state affairs, made a good record for efficient and business-like administration. First of all, there was his constant solicitude for the rights of the people in their dealings through the state government with corporations. With remarkable business foresight, he directed the attention of the legislature to the need of prohibiting any railroad company from consolidating with another railway company, and also of forbidding the assignment of a railroad's charter to another company without specified permission in each instance from the legislature. In other words, he sought in that day to put up a barrier which should prevent widespread consolidation of railroad interests, because of the twofold danger of them becoming too formidable factors in state affairs and of stifling competition. Governor Jackson endeavored to have the railroad companies and other large corporations bear a more equitable share of the burden of taxes, and he favored taxing foreign corporations doing business in the

state in proportion to the amount of business they transacted in the commonwealth. Side by side with this constant endeavor to have the big corporations do their share in supporting the state government was an unceasing campaign for decreasing the taxes of the common citizen.

Mr. Jackson made no secret of his wish to be sent to the United States senate, and during his administration he labored industriously to make possible a realization of this ambition. He first appeared as a formidable candidate in 1890, but in the heat of the contest disclosures were made concerning the defalcations of State Treasurer Stevenson Archer; and this unfortunate affair, for which Governor Jackson was in no wise to blame, put an end for a time to his candidacy. Two years later he again appeared as an aspirant for senatorial honors, but Senator Gorman and the democratic leader of Baltimore worked against him and he was defeated.

After the close of his administration, Governor Jackson resumed the position in the business world from which public office had called him, and thereafter he gave chie thought to his commercial affairs. His enormous lumber interests and his connection with the Salisbury National Bank and the Sussex National Bank—the latter at Seaford, Delaware—took much of his time. He bore an active part in the state campaign of 1895, when many of the old democratic leaders met with defeat. At that time he was a candidate for the state senate and was one of the few successful democrats. At the session of 1896 Mr. Jackson served as chairman of the finance committee, accomplishing several meritorious reforms; and in the session of 1898 he was also a useful member. His democratic friends sought to have him become a congressional candidate in 1900 against his brother, William H. Jackson, who had gone over to the republican party when the demo-

crats first advocated "free silver;" but Governor Jackson could not be persuaded to enter the contest. In 1902 and in 1904 he was again spoken of for congress; and in the latter year the convention even went so far as to nominate him without his consent, but he declined the honor. Finally in 1907, Mr. Jackson played an important part in the convention which named Austin L. Crothers for governor, and he was largely responsible for the movement which gave the deciding votes to Mr. Crothers instead of to Henry Williams.

In the days when Governor Jackon was fighting hardest for success in the business world he put into practice the theory that two heads are better than one, and married. Mrs. Jackson, who was Miss Nannie Rider, daughter of Dr. William H. Rider, of Salisbury, was the close companion of the governor in all his affairs from the time of their marriage, in 1869 They made their home in the beautiful mansion which Mr. Jackson erected in Salisbury in 1885, and their greatest interests were centered in the Eastern Shore town. When Salisbury was visited by a disastrous fire in 1885, Governor Jackson contributed generously of his means to the rebuilding of the place. He was, of course, a mighty force in the commercial affairs of his home town, where his own business constituted so large a source of activity. He was also active in the church and social circles of the county seat of Wicomico. He died in Baltimore, on December 27, 1907.

XLII

FRANK BROWN

There is a wide range in the motive that inspires different political leaders and aspirants. Upon the point of ethics, for instance, there are politicians working side by side—working under the same standard and apparently for the same object—whose characters are antithetical. Thus, in the matter of morals, there stands in the center the man who makes of politics a business, whether for monetary or social advantage; and the pendulum in its full swing reaches on its one extreme the citizen who sees in politics a form of religion; and on the other the schemist who makes of it a species of crime. The business politician is not necessarily wicked—indeed, it were unwarranted to assert that he is to any great extent wicked—just as the religiously righteous politician is not always a capable or a profitable public servant; the criminal politician is, of course, a criminal. But to classify under these three heads the many officials who have held important positions under Maryland's state government would be a task impossible of accomplishment, for the true motive of many a politician is hidden from view. There are, however, numerous cases in which this condition of concealment does not exist. For example: no one would believe that Governor Brown is in politics as a means of worship, and he himself would undoubtedly be the first to protest, were he written down as a man who made of politics a religion. A man of large business acumen, his political ventures have been conducted upon the same business principle as a dozen or more other large undertakings of his in a strictly commercial field.



FRANK BROWN
1892–1896

FRANK BROWN



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And, rejecting the fallacy that an office-seeker should necessarily be inspired only with patriotism, there will be found in his political career not a little to admire, whether it be in his business methods of making himself governor, or of carrying to a successful close the campaigns of other candidates.

Frank Brown was born August 8, 1846, at Brown's Inheritance, an estate in Carroll county that had been the homestead of several of his ancestors. His father, Stephen T. Cockey Brown, was a grandson of Abel Brown, who emigrated from Dumfries, Scotland, to Maryland in the early half of the eighteenth century. His mother had been, before her marriage, Miss Susan A. Bennett, daughter of a Carroll county farmer. The elder Mr. Brown intended that his son should be an agriculturist. Although the lad was given a thorough schooling, being entered at various educational institutions in Carroll, Howard and Baltimore counties, his father stressed that portion of his education which had to do with the management of a farm. But, while farming as a hobby has always interested Mr. Frank Brown, as an occupation it did not present fascination enough to withhold from him the temptation to seek a field of activity in less isolated territory, and early in his youth he came to Baltimore and entered the employ of R. Sinclair and Company, dealers in agricultural implements. Subsequently he made his appearance in a semi-political position when, in 1870, he was appointed to a clerkship in one of the state tobacco warehouses. Here the Carroll countian continued for the next six years, serving under the administrations of Governors Bowie, Whyte, and Groome. During this period he was ever busy in building up for himself the foundation of a political career; and by 1875 he had grown sufficiently in public esteem to be the successful candidate in his county for membership in the house of delegates.

In this instance—which is of interest because it marks the initiation of the future governor into elective office—there is shown Mr. Brown's method of laying plans well in advance of a contest for a public position. Mr. Brown was a member of the session of 1876 as well as that of 1878, having been reëlected in 1877. His political career was then given a pause by the death of both his father and his uncle, a dual loss which placed upon his shoulders the responsibility of managing a considerable estate. Although these new cares kept Mr. Brown out of the legislative race in 1879, just one year later, in 1880, he made his initial appearance as a big public-spirited character. It was in this year that he accepted the presidency of the Maryland State Agricultural and Mechanical Society, and it was not long before he gave evidence of remarkable ability as an organizer and executive. He put new spirit into the state fairs held under the society's auspices, and few public movements were started thereafter which did not enlist his hearty support. With his freedom from legislative duties, Mr. Brown also became a more prominent figure in the political affairs of the state at large, being particularly active in the presidential campaign of 1884, when Mr. Grover Cleveland was elected. In the campaign of 1885, Mr. Brown was treasurer of the democratic state central committee. Early in the Cleveland administration circumstances arose which led to a vacancy in the postmastership at Baltimore. Mr. Parker Veazey, the then incumbent, offered his resignation and the president at the same time that he sent this to congress presented the name of Mr. Frank Brown as Mr. Veazey's successor. Mr. Brown was confirmed and became postmaster of Baltimore in 1886. His administration of the affairs of this important branch of the federal government continued for almost four years, and was marked by several progressive innovations. Thus, under Postmaster Brown

there were created sub-stations to the post office in Baltimore, the system of postal parcel and newspapers boxes was established, and mail collection by carts was inaugurated.

While serving as postmaster, Mr. Brown appeared as a candidate for the democratic gubernatorial nomination. This was in 1887, when five candidates in all contested for the nomination. Though Mr. Brown controlled but twenty votes in the convention, he was unable to hold even these to the very end, and after Mr. Jackson had been named for governor, Mr. Brown announced that he would be a candidate again four years later. This shows something of Mr. Brown's business method in politics. It was a very natural thing for a candidate who had been unsuccessful to announce that he would make another contest; but in the disappointed Carroll countians' declaration there was much more than a wish to escape gracefully from defeat. For the next four years, in season and out of season, he worked systematically and persistently in the interest of his own candidacy, with the result that by 1891 he had strengthened his position so much, that the leaders opposed to him were unable to withhold the coveted nomination. Mr. Frank Brown was named by the democratic state convention in the summer of 1891, and the republican party placed in nomination, as his opponent, Mr. William J. Vannort, of Chestertown. At the election, held November 3, of that year, the Carroll countian was elected. He succeeded Governor Jackson on January 13, 1892, and continued as governor until January 8, 1896.

Governor Brown's administration was characterized by several spectacular public events, in all of which he assumed a conspicuous part. These incidents, generally, afforded him an opportunity for the display of his business ability and of his power to take the initiative at critical moments.

Especially is this true regarding the Frostburg coal strike of 1894. This labor trouble between the soft coal owners and the miners was but part of a general dissatisfaction among the bituminous coal miners in the eastern states. A strike had been anticipated by the governor, who for some time prior to its materialization had had the disturbed mining section under surveillance. At 11 o'clock on the morning of June 5, he received a telegram that the strike had so far advanced in the Frostburg district that the sheriff was helpless to guard property. The governor's plans had all been so well laid, that by 4 o'clock in the afternoon of the same day he had the Fourth and Fifth regiments ready to send to Frostburg. Special trains were provided and before daylight of the morrow the militia had been transported to the scene of disturbance. Instead of first issuing his proclamation to the strikers to disperse and then waiting to see how far they would obey, Governor Brown had the militia march upon the heels of the agents who were deputized to post copies of his proclamation. When Frostburg awoke on the morning of July 6, it found the town posted with the governor's orders that the strikers refrain from violence; but it also found the streets of the town occupied with soldiers whose mission was to see that the orders were obeyed. Governor Brown then went personally to Frostburg, where he conferred with the strike leaders, with the result that in Maryland there was no violence, no conflict between the strikers and the troops, no destruction of property; all due to the care with which the chief magistrate had perfected his plans for meeting the threats of mob-rule, and to the promptness with which those plans were put into execution.

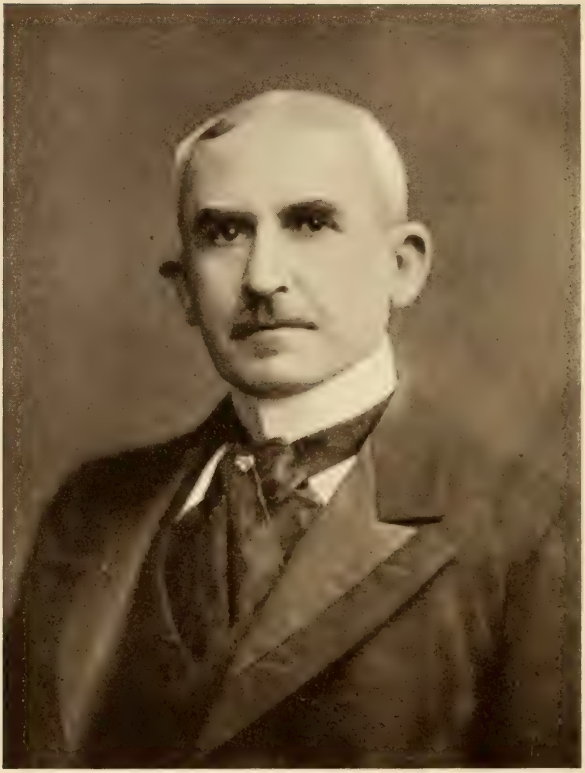
Another instance of Governor Brown's discretion in dealing with the people at a time of unusual excitement was furnished by the Hill murder case, in which he exercised

executive clemency in commuting the sentence of four youthful negro murderers from capital punishment to life imprisonment. Dr. Hill, of Chestertown, had been murdered by some negroes of a party of eight—men and boys. All eight negroes were arrested, tried, and sentenced to be hung. Governor Brown was later appealed to on behalf of four of the negroes, who not only were very young, but who were shown to have been drawn into the affair by the older men. At the time, however, feeling ran high against the accused men, and the governor had to exercise great secrecy in investigating the case, lest some rumor of his purpose should incite the neighbors of the murdered man to resort to violence. Governor Brown visited the boys in person, he looked fully into the evidence in the case, and then he had a boat go secretly by night to Chestertown to take the four prisoners aboard and bring them to Baltimore; after which he commuted their sentence. For a time the Eastern Shoremen were bitter against the governor for his interference, and threatened to lynch the remaining four negroes; but better judgment prevailed, and the law was permitted to take its course in the matter of hanging the men who had been solely responsible for the crime.

During his governorship Mr. Brown had also to deal with the once-famous but now almost forgotten Coxey's army, which, after its ejection from the national capital, camped for a while on Maryland soil. Backing up the good legal advice of the attorney-general with his own business judgment, he succeeded in trapping the remnant of this army of tramps in such a manner that its members only too gladly accepted his invitation to leave the commonwealth by a special train, and thus the state was freed from an element which was both undesirable and dangerous. Not an unimportant feature of Governor Brown's administration was his "tax convention." The state executive was

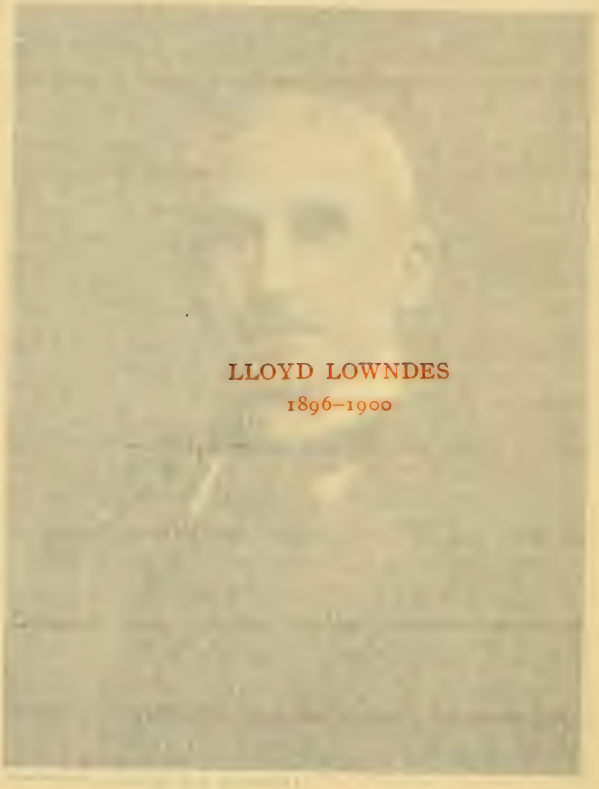
not in agreement with certain legislative leaders regarding a proposed assessment bill. Although Governor Brown favored this piece of legislation in parts, he opposed it as a whole, because in its submitted form it threatened the people with double taxation. The bill, nevertheless, was passed by the session of 1892, but did not become a law because the governor withheld his signature from it. It was resurrected in the session of 1894; but met with defeat in the house of delegates. At this time Governor Brown called together the leading public men of the state to attend his somewhat unique nonpartisan "tax" convention, at which the subject of taxation was thoroughly discussed, to the general enlightenment of the public. Mr. Brown was married, 1879, to Mrs. Mary Preston, widow of Horatio Preston, of Boston, and daughter of David Ridgely, of Baltimore. Since the death of Mrs. Brown, which occurred in 1895, the ex-governor has taken little interest in his Carroll county homestead, spending most of his time in Baltimore or abroad.

Shortly after his retirement from the executive mansion, Governor Brown was elected president of the Baltimore Traction Company; and during the two years that he held this position he wrought great improvement in the financial and operating departments of the street railway. He came into prominence in the municipal campaign of 1899, when he selected Mr. Thomas G. Hayes as the most available candidate for mayor in the democratic party, and his management was the greatest contribution to the success of Mr. Hayes' campaign. In the same manner he became the sponsor for Mr. J. Barry Mahool for mayor of Baltimore in 1907, and he managed the campaign which resulted in Mr. Mahool's election. The new city executive appointed Mr. Brown city collector, and by his acceptance of the office he returned, after many years of retirement to public service.



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LLOYD LEWELLEN



LLOYD LOWNDES

1896–1900

XLIII

LLOYD LOWNDES

In the closing decade of the nineteenth century the people of Maryland became dissatisfied with the political methods employed in the conduct of state affairs. The impression obtained that the body politic needed an emetic and that the season was ripe for reform or an attempt at an improvement of things political. At this opportune moment the republican party of Maryland, which was in the minority, brought forth as its candidate one of the most representative business men of the state and, with the aid of the dissatisfied democrats of the state, elected him. Governor Lowndes administered the affairs of Maryland for four years, during which time he inaugurated numerous reforms which the better element of both parties had thought necessary and to which he had pledged himself, and his entire course while state executive won commendation from the members of both parties; and yet, at the close of his administration, when he appeared for reëlection, he met with defeat. His failure to be continued in office, however, is not surprising in view of the facts that people do not long remember the services of their faithful servants, and that Maryland, except in the campaign when Mr. Lowndes was elected governor, had chosen only democratic state executives for a period of forty years.

Lloyd Lowndes was born in Clarksburg, in what is now West Virginia, on February 21, 1845. His father, Lloyd Lowndes, was descended from Benjamin Tasker, who administered the affairs of Maryland during colonial days, and Edward Lloyd, who was governor of the state in the early

part of the nineteenth century. The mother of Governor Lowndes had been Miss Marie Moore before her marriage. Lloyd Lowndes attended the local academy of Clarksburg until he was sixteen years of age, when he entered Washington College, Washington, Pa., where he remained until 1863. Later he went to Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa., from which he was graduated in 1865. Subsequently he entered the law school of the University of Pennsylvania, and was graduated in law in 1867.

The elder Mr. Lowndes had taken up his residence in Cumberland, Md., where he engaged in business, and as soon as his son had completed his studies he joined his father in the Western Maryland city. He engaged in the practice of law in Cumberland, set about informing himself upon matters of general public interest both at home and abroad, and also entered the matrimonial state. The wife of the governor was Miss Elizabeth Tasker Lowndes, his first cousin. Mr. Lowndes soon after his marriage abandoned law for more congenial fields, and during the greater portion of his business life he was interested in financial and mining enterprises, and in politics.

In the Grant-Greeley campaign of 1872, Mr. Lowndes received the republican nomination for congress. He had as his opponent John Ritchie, who was then representing the Sixth district in the house of representatives, and defeated the congressman. When Mr. Lowndes entered the forty-third congress he had the distinction of being its youngest member, aged twenty-eight. During the session the civil rights bill was brought up for consideration by the republicans, who planned through it to punish further the southern states. The measure was one that every republican was expected to support; but Mr. Lowndes, despite his tender years and the certainty of disaster which was sure to follow the course, courageously opposed

the unjust measure, and he and five other republicans in the house voted with the democrats against it. This single feature of Governor Lowndes' congressional career is sufficient to indicate the kind of man he was in the national legislature. He served during his two-year term on several important committees and accomplished an enormous amount of labor, for he was among the laborers rather than the talkers. But in pursuing the course ordered by his conscience he had signed his own death warrant as a congressman. In 1874 he appeared as a candidate for reëlection, but was defeated by William Walsh, democrat. His failure in the election of 1874 put an end, apparently, to Mr. Lowndes' ambition for political honors, and for twenty-two years thereafter he refrained determinedly from seeking office. During this period, however, he was active in the ranks of his party, and exerted an enormous influence upon the plans and battles of the republican party, not only in his own section of Maryland, but throughout the state.

Mr. Lowndes was the owner or part owner of extensive coal lands, and took an active part in the management of the companies operating these lands. In addition to his coal interests, he was more or less intimately connected with the management of several financial institutions. He entered the board of directors of the Second National Bank of Cumberland in early manhood, and at the age of twenty-eight was elected its president. He was also on the executive board of the International Trust Company and a director of the Fidelity and Deposit Company, both of Baltimore. He owned the Cumberland Daily News, and gave to it more or less of his personal attention, and he managed to spare a little time from his active life for supervising the farming of his large Allegany county estate. His wealth afforded Mr. Lowndes the means of engaging largely in charitable work, and in this he had the constant coöperation of Mrs.

Lowndes. He was devoted to his church, Emmanuel Episcopal of Cumberland, and was in his later years the senior warden of its vestry. He was the delegate from his parish to the diocesan conventions for about twenty-five years consecutively.

With all these drains upon his time, however, Mr. Lowndes found ample opportunity for taking an interest in political affairs. He was throughout the period beginning with his retirement from congress and terminating with his nomination for governor of Maryland, a faithful laborer for his party's success and a liberal contributor of financial ammunition to its committees. In 1880 he was a delegate to the national republican convention. He was solicited in 1891 to make the fight for governor of Maryland, but he refused. Four years later, however, at the instance of his more faithful adherents in the republican party and certain friends in the democratic organization, he permitted his name to be used for first place upon the republican state ticket. He had as his opponent John E. Hurst, a prominent merchant of Baltimore and a faithful supporter of the democratic organization. The campaign in the fall of 1895 was marked by a general desertion of the independent democrats to the support of the republican candidate, and Mr. Lowndes was elected governor of Maryland by a majority of more than 18,000.

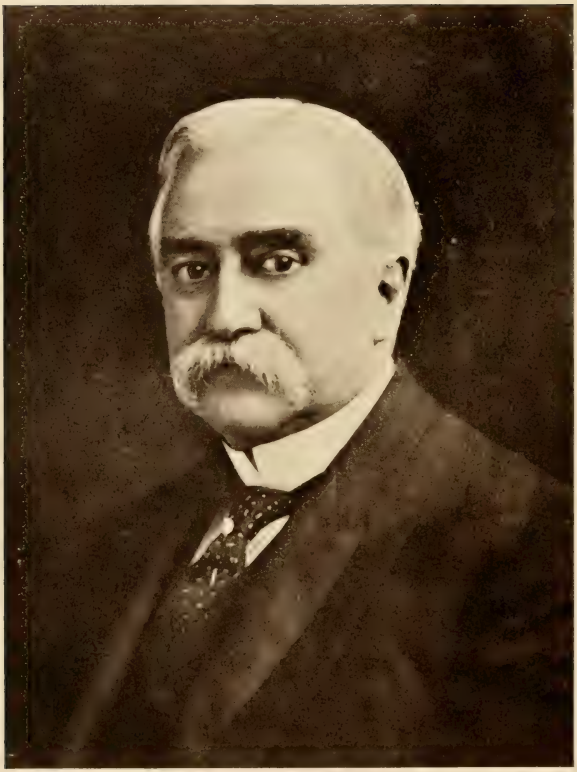
He succeeded Mr. Frank Brown on January 8, 1896, and during the next four years the affairs of the executive office were administered in a manner that at no time justified reproach, but constantly warranted the warmest praise for the first republican elected chief magistrate of Maryland in almost thirty years. At the same time the governor was handicapped somewhat by a legislature which was not as pure in motives or as conscientious in conduct as was the state executive. But, despite contention and friction, Gov-

ernor Lowndes was able to fulfill every promise made by him while campaigning, so far as reform was concerned. Thus the Reform League election law, the general assessment law and the new Baltimore City Charter law were passed during his term in office. He gave proof of his concern in the general welfare of his state by his support of measures which aimed to encourage immigration to the sparsely settled sections of the state. His administration witnessed the Spanish-American War, and he promptly responded to the president's call by sending to the front a part of Maryland's militia.

It is more than probable that Governor Lowndes might have been able to effect his election to the United States senate while governor, had he so willed, and it is certain that he was eager to serve his state in the upper branch of congress. During his administration two senators were chosen, and in both cases they were republican. Governor Lowndes, however much he might have coveted the prize on either occasion, was dissuaded from using his power to bring to him the office. He was willing to forego the attainment of his greatest ambition politically for what he believed at the time was the good of his party and the state generally, regardless of party affiliation.

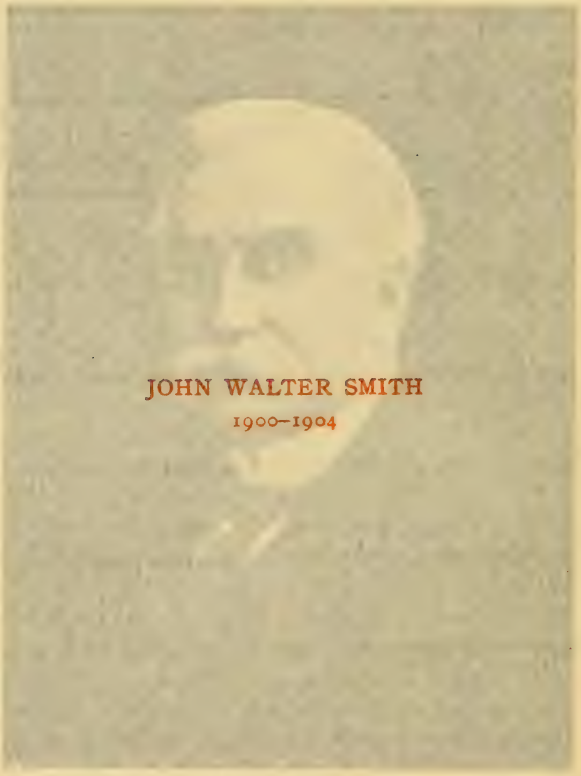
The republican party, when it met in convention in 1899, again nominated him for first place on the state ticket. This nomination was an unusual compliment in Maryland, where political parties have not been accustomed under the constitution adopted in 1867 to give a governor a renomination. The democratic party named John Walter Smith, of Worcester county, and in the election held on November 7, 1899, the latter was given a majority of 12,123 votes. The defeat of Governor Lowndes was largely due to the fact that the state was normally democratic. Then, too, there was disaffection among the republicans.

Although after his retirement Mr. Lowndes was forced to make war upon certain factions of his own party, he continued to exert a large influence upon its affairs in the state. He was upon intimate terms with President Roosevelt, a source of much strength to him, and generally was held as the leader of his party in Maryland, though an occasional defeat was administered to him by the McComas element in Maryland republican circles. At the time of his death, however, he was by many odds the biggest figure in his party and was regarded as the logical candidate for governor in the approaching state election. When his future seemed to promise most, Governor Lowndes was suddenly stricken down, and died almost without warning on the morning of January 8, 1905.



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JOHN WALTER SMITH



JOHN WALTER SMITH

1900–1904

XLIV

JOHN WALTER SMITH

In the smaller towns and country districts political aspirants are not generally put into public service as young as they are in the more thickly populated centers; the country politician must bide his time, working slowly upward, if he hopes to become the holder of an important elective office. He must, as a rule, be well known among the people he wishes to convert into his constituents; and usually a reputation for success in business will prove his strongest recommendation to the rural voter. Farmers have a strong leaning toward successful business men as candidates for public office; in this respect they show a superiority over the city voter, who can be tempted to give his support to an unsuccessful lawyer in preference to a man who, though he can neither orate nor gesticulate gracefully, has a head full of business sense.

These prevailing conditions of the rural section supply an index to the political rise of Governor Smith. He gave the best energy of his early manhood to the commercial enterprises in which he became interested, although in the meanwhile he devoted a portion of his time to political affairs. While he was attaining prominence as a man of large commercial pursuits, he labored quietly but persistently for the success of the democratic party in the lower Eastern Shore; and gradually not only won for himself a wide circle of acquaintances among the neighboring leaders, but he became favorably known to the rank and file of the voters. In time he acquired a remarkable hold upon political affairs in his own section, where he had made for himself

a big reputation as a successful business man; but he was no longer a stripling when the time arrived to seek political honors, for he had reached the age of forty-four before making his initial appearance as a candidate.

John Walter Smith, the son of John Walter Smith and Charlotte (Whittington) Smith, was born at Snow Hill on February 5, 1845. In the county of which his native town is the governmental seat the ancestors of the governor had been residents for several generations back; and not a few of them had won some little distinction in public life. His grandfather, on the maternal side, William Whittington—a large landowner of Worcester—was chosen one of the early judges in what is now the first judicial district; and his great grandfather, Samuel Handy, was a member of the Association of the Freemen of America. Through the misfortune of being early orphaned, John Walter Smith, the younger, came under the influence of one who played an important part in the public affairs of Maryland. Shortly after the boy's birth his mother died, and when he had reached the age of five he lost his father. He then became the ward of Ephraim K. Wilson, who was twice honored by being elected to the United States senate, and this guardianship had much to do with the early development of Mr. Smith's political ambition.

Mr. Smith attended the primary schools and Union Academy of Snow Hill. His school days, however, were brought to a close in 1863, when at the age of eighteen he began his business career. He was employed as a clerk in the store of George S. Richardson and Brother. He subsequently became a partner of this firm, which is continued today as Smith, Moore and Company. Mr. Smith is a representative business man of the type produced by the smaller towns of Maryland; his commercial interests grew steadily and soon exceeded the narrow confines of his

own native town, but he has ever maintained first affection for the old homeplace, and his business success has also been the business success of Snow Hill as well as of Worcester. He was active in the organization of the First National Bank of Snow Hill in 1887, in which institution he retains a large interest. He is one of the largest landowners of his own county and is prominent in many of the local industries—his business energy having lead him into concerns of greatly varied complexion, such, for instance, as the oyster industry, lumbering, canning, farming, finances and insurance. He is vice-president of the Surry Lumber Company and the Surry, Sussex and Southampton Railroad Company, and he is connected with many other institutions in Snow Hill, Baltimore and other parts of the state.

The early appearance of Mr. Smith in the business life of Snow Hill had also its bearing upon his home life. After he had been admitted as a junior member to the firm of George S. Richardson and Brother, he was married, when twenty-four years of age, to Miss Mary Frances Richardson, a sister of the senior partner of the house. Mr. and Mrs. Smith have always retained their home residence in Snow Hill, although there have been times when Mr. Smith's official duties have necessitated a temporary residence either at Annapolis or Baltimore. The home circle for many years consisted of the parents and two daughters. One of the girls, Miss Charlotte Whittington Smith, died some years ago, while the other daughter, Mrs. Arthur D. Foster, has resided in Baltimore since her marriage. Although with the breaking of the family circle the Smith home may have lost some of its former life, it retains its reputation of being the center for true Eastern Shore hospitality. Even the most violent political enemies of the ex-governor admit that for courteous manners and hospitable instincts the Worcester countian has no superiors, and

nowhere are these characteristics seen to better advantage than when Mr. Smith is the host of his friends in his Snow Hill home.

Although Mr. Smith did not appear as a candidate for office until 1889, when he was a man of forty-four, he had been a considerable factor in Eastern Shore politics a long time before that. It was in 1889 that he determined to enter the campaign to represent Worcester county in the state senate, and not only was he elected state senator in that year, but he was reëlected for full four-year terms in 1893 and in 1897. Early in his career as state senator, he experienced the first of two great political disappointments, both resulting from his defeat as a candidate for the United States senate. Ephraim K. Wilson, Mr. Smith's former guardian, had been chosen to the upper branch of congress in 1885 for six years, and in 1891 was reëlected for the term to expire in 1897. This second election witnessed Mr. Smith as the especial champion of Senator Wilson, and when the latter died, on February 24, 1891, before having begun his second term, State Senator Smith announced himself as candidate for the seat made vacant by Senator Wilson's death. Mr. Charles H. Gibson, however, was more acceptable to the leaders of the Western Shore, and Mr. Smith had to forego for a time his ambition to serve in the upper branch of congress.

At the session of the legislature in 1894, which marked the beginning of Mr. Smith's second term in the state senate, he was elected president of that body. In the election of 1896, the democratic party had lost the first congressional district, and two years later Mr. Smith was prevailed upon to become a candidate for the lower house of congress in the hope that his large following would make possible a recovery of the lost territory. Although the republicans bitterly contested the election, Mr. Smith was

successful, but before he began his service in congress, he was placed in nomination for governor of Maryland by the democratic state convention that met in the summer of 1899. At the previous gubernatorial election, Maryland had, on account of dissatisfaction with the methods of the democratic leaders, elected a republican chief magistrate for the first time since the Civil War. Governor Lowndes, the republican in question, appeared for reëlection in opposition to Mr. Smith in 1899, but was defeated.

The most prominent feature of Governor Smith's administration, extending from January 10, 1900, to January 13, 1904, was his call for an extra session of the legislature in 1901. It must not be supposed that his term in the executive mansion was so void of important events that this incident should be regarded as the only one of great moment; but for his course in convening in extra session the general assembly, Governor Smith was more bitterly attacked and more ardently supported than for any other act of his governorship. Early in Governor Smith's administration reports were sent to the executive mansion that frauds had been perpetrated in the census returns for the decade of 1900, which, if they remained uncorrected, would result in allowing an unjust representation in the house of delegates to the republican counties. The governor, therefore, on February 13, 1901, issued a proclamation, instructing members of the legislature to meet in special session at Annapolis on March 6, 1901, and in explanation of his course he pointed out: (1) That errors in the enumeration by the United States census of the population of the state, if not corrected by an enumeration under state authority, would give to the same section of the state a disproportionate representation in the house of delegates. (2) The urgent need for legislation to reform manifest and great abuses in the state's election law. (3) A demand from the

mayor and city council of Baltimore for additional power in connection with sewerage of the city, and the preservation of its sanitary condition. The legislature met on the day prescribed and continued in session until March 28, 1901. The particular business for which it had been called was discharged: the sewer bill was passed; provision was made for taking a state census, which proved the correctness of Governor Smith's charge that frauds had been perpetrated; a new election law was passed; and the re-warding of Baltimore city was ordered.

During his term as governor, Mr. Smith either took the initiative or else contributed liberally of his energy in many movements for the public good. He was active in starting a public campaign against tuberculosis, urging the legislature in 1902 to create a commission to investigate the disease with a view to preventing its spread, and he has served upon the commission which was created in response to his request. He labored untiringly for the improvement of the county schools, and the marvelous advance made in public education in the rural districts since the creation of a state superintendency of public education is largely due to him. Early in his legislative career he had introduced the free school bill, which he pressed for passage in subsequent sessions until 1896, when the bill became a law; and during his term as governor he secured the revision of the public school law governing the appointment of school commissioners so as to provide for bi-partisan representation in all the counties in order to divorce the school system from political influence.

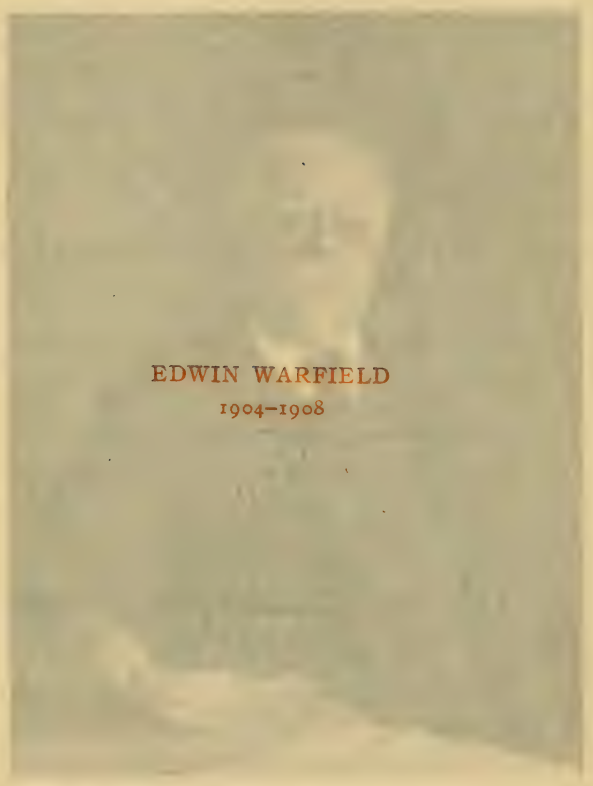
During the legislative session of 1904, Mr. Smith made his second contest for a seat in the United States senate. After a prolonged fight, which assumed the aspect of an unbreakable deadlock, Mr. Isidor Rayner was eventually elected, and Mr. Smith suffered the second of his great political

defeats. Instead, however, of becoming discouraged, the Worcester countian prepared himself for a fresh effort. Theretofore he had looked to certain political leaders to aid him in realizing his greatest political ambition, and these leaders had deserted him. Now he set about to build up a political following throughout the state in which he need be dependent upon the caprice of no man, but in which he should have the deciding voice. How wisely he organized his forces was shown in the democratic primary election in the fall of 1907, when Mr. Smith was named by an overwhelming majority as the party's nominee for the six-year term in the United States senate beginning on March 4, 1909; and, in accordance with this popular nomination, he was elected senator by the legislature early in the session of 1908. He was elected to the seat which Senator Whyte, had he lived, would have vacated in 1909. Upon the death of Senator Whyte before the completion of his term, Governor Smith was elected by the general assembly, in the spring of 1908, to serve the unexpired portion of Senator Whyte's term, and he immediately qualified and took his seat in the United States senate.

XLV

EDWIN WARFIELD

Throughout certain classic forms of musical composition there is one dominant strain. This primary idea may at times disappear in a haze of variations; it may be lost in a whirl of melody that drowns the central theme; and yet, throughout the composition, it will appear again and again until it has been impressed indelibly upon the mind of the auditor. In much the same way, in the life of a man of big personality there is usually found one dominant strain. This something need not necessarily protrude above the surface of the general make-up; indeed, it may sometimes seem lost in a whole company of stressed strains; still upon close scrutiny it will be found, in varied form perhaps or modified in volume, but forever dominating. For instance, while there were many admirable traits in the character of Governor Pratt, one stood out in such strong relief that all the others became merely background to it, and that one was his honesty—honesty for state as well as for man, honesty in spirit no less than in word. In like manner the life of Governor Hamilton solved itself into one prevailing theme: administrative economy—a curtailment of the cost of running the government in order that the real burden-bearers of the nation, the small taxpayers, might be freed from oppression. And in approaching the life of Governor Warfield, the student is soon impressed with the theme of personal responsibility. Mr. Warfield's patriotism, his advocacy of clean politics, his support of the merit system, and every other marked feature of his administration as



EDWIN WARFIELD
1904–1908

XLV

EDWIN WARFIELD



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governor and of his teachings as a political leader, one and all rest upon this dominant strain.

Edwin Warfield was born at Oakdale, Howard county, on May 7, 1848. The place of his birth proved an important factor in the shaping of his character. For several generations his ancestors had owned and tilled the great expanse of lands upon which his eyes early learned to feast, and it was not long before he came to feel that the old Warfields, though long since dead, still lingered about the place. Of the deeds which these progenitors performed and of the virtues for which they are reputed Mr. Warfield is, indeed, exceedingly proud. But he is not a pensioner on the past; rather he has ever regarded the accomplishments of his forebears as placing an increased responsibility upon him, rather of freeing him entirely from any requirement for individual effort. His father was Albert G. Warfield, of a line of Warfields who for several hundred years had been prominent in the affairs of the Old Line State, winning distinction in time of war and of peace. Mrs. Warfield, the Governor's mother, was a daughter of Col. Gassaway Watkins, who served as a member of the Maryland Line in the Revolutionary War and was president of the Maryland Society of the Cincinnati at the time of his death, 1840.

Mr. Warfield acquired his elementary training at the public schools of Howard county and also at St. Timothy's Hall, Catonsville. With the outbreak of the Civil War, however, and the subsequent emancipation of negro slaves, affairs at Oakdale took on a somewhat different aspect, and he had to close his books that he might bear his share of the farm labor and also contribute to the family income during those months when the fields needed least attention. It was in 1866 that Mr. Warfield, then just eighteen years of age and with no special training as a teacher, determined to look to the profession of pedagogy for a livelihood. He

found, some four or five miles from his own home, a not greatly coveted little country schoolhouse, which happened to be without a teacher, and he set about obtaining an appointment to this charge. He approached the school commissioners and asked to be appointed a probationary teacher. He frankly confessed that he was not then able to pass the required examination but gave his word that if appointed he not only would keep well ahead of his classes, but the following spring would take and pass the teacher's examination. He was appointed, and when the teacher's examination was held in the spring of 1867, Mr. Warfield made good his promise that he would pass it. In consequence he was promoted from a probationary to be a regular teacher, and continued in the work of the county schools for some years thereafter, at the same time reading law. He was later admitted to the bar.

Throughout this time he, like the Warfields who had preceded him, took a large interest in public affairs. He worked in his own immediate neighborhood, talked for and against candidates and issues, and acquired some reputation as a speaker. It was in 1874 that he abandoned the profession of teaching to accept a public office. The office of register of wills in Howard County became vacant through the death of the duly elected register, and Mr. Warfield was named to fill the unexpired term. In the next year he announced that he would be a candidate for a full term of six years and was given a larger majority at the election than any other candidate on the ticket. This post was remunerative as contrasted with the modest salary received as a county school-teacher, and it was also congenial to Mr. Warfield. As the time approached for a new election, however, he announced that he would not ask for another term, and so, in 1881, set the precedent that he has ever since followed—not to ask the people to return him to any

office in which he has just finished serving a full term by election.

While Mr. Warfield declined to make another contest for the registership, he showed no intention of retiring from public life. In fact, he coupled with his declination an announcement that he was perfectly willing to represent Howard county in the upper branch of the general assembly. There was at the time a vacancy in the senate for the unexpired term of Arthur Pue Gorman, who had resigned a state senatorship to accept a seat in the United States senate, and it was the remaining two years of Mr. Gorman's term in the upper branch of the legislature that Mr. Warfield coveted, and that he got in the election of 1881. Two years later he appeared as a candidate for a full term in the state senate and was elected for the four years, from 1883 to 1887. With his appearance as a member of the general assembly in 1881, Mr. Warfield set up a law office in Ellicott City, where he looked after the interests of those who were willing to become his clients. Shortly after he reached out in his endeavor to be an influential citizen by purchasing the Ellicott City Times, which paper he owned and edited from 1882 to 1886. The latter year saw him the originator and one of the organizers of the Patapsco National Bank of Ellicott City, a financial institution with which he maintained official relations until 1890.

Mr. Warfield took an important part in the presidential campaign of 1884, when the success of the democratic ticket carried Mr. Grover Cleveland into the White House, and placed in the hands of the democratic party numerous important and well-paying offices that required the services of competent and honest men. When the time came for appointing a successor to the retiring republican surveyor of the port of Baltimore, the president, naturally feeling kindly toward Mr. Warfield for his contribution to the party's

success, decided to nominate him for the post, although no application had been made for it by Mr. Warfield. He was at this time still serving in the state senate, of which he had been chosen president at the session of 1886. His appointment as surveyor was made on April 5, 1886, and he was apprised of his selection at about the time the general assembly was preparing to adjourn. In order, therefore, to provide for a president of the senate in event of an extra session or of other emergency Mr. Warfield resigned as excutive of the upper branch of the legislature within half an hour of the close of the session. Upon accepting the post of surveyor of the port Mr. Warfield, in deference to the known views of President Cleveland regarding the active participation of his appointees in politics, severed his connection with the democratic state central committee, of which he had been a member since 1878. He qualified as surveyor on May 1, 1886, and continued in office exactly four years, or until May 1, 1890. At about the time of his appointment as surveyor, Mr. Warfield was married to Miss Emma Nicodemus, a daughter of the late J. Courtney Nicodemus of Baltimore. During part of his term as surveyor the couple resided in Baltimore, although their later years have been passed chiefly at Oakdale, the beautiful Warfield homestead in Howard county.

During the years that Mr. Warfield was surveyor the fortunes of war went against his party in national affairs, and when he stepped from office he found, so to speak, that he was out of paying politics. It was then that the idea of organizing the Fidelity and Deposit Company occurred to him, and he founded the Baltimore financial institution at the corner of Charles and Lexington streets, of which he has ever since been president. For the decade from 1889 to 1899 Mr. Warfield abstained almost totally from activity in politics and devoted his energy chiefly

to building up the concern with whose success or failure was to be linked his own fortune. There was a break, however, in his cessation from political activity, in 1896, when he was chosen a delegate-at-large to the democratic national convention which nominated Mr. Bryan.

In the year 1899 Mr. Warfield broke away from his apparent purpose to keep out of politics, and uncovered a secret ambition to be honored with a higher political office than had up to that time been given him. Before consulting either the political leaders of his party or sounding public sentiment to learn what his chances were for being nominated or elected governor, he conferred with the directorate of his company regarding the advisability of announcing himself as a gubernatorial candidate. Winning the favorable indorsement of his directors, he announced, somewhat unconventionally, that he was desirous of being his party's nominee for state executive. Although Mr. Warfield did not get the nomination in 1900, he came out of the contest with something of value. He learned, first of all, that the people generally liked him and had faith in him and that with a longer primary campaign he would have been able to show greater support. He had his determination to be governor reinforced, and he acquired a lot of experience in campaigning. Four years later he again appeared as a candidate for the gubernatorial nomination, and when the state convention was assembled he showed how much sentiment he had built up for himself during the interval, and was nominated by acclamation. The election held on November 3, 1903, resulted in his victory with a plurality of 12,625 over Mr. S. A. Williams, the republican candidate.

The administration of Edwin Warfield began in January 1904, when he succeeded John Walter Smith—his successful rival for the gubernatorial nomination in 1899—and continued until January 8, 1908, when he surrendered the executive

mansion to Austin L. Crothers. This period is marked with events of importance in the history of Maryland. The issue upon which greatest interest centers is that of the campaign for the so-called Poe amendment—a proposal to change the constitution of Maryland so as to disfranchise the less desirable class of negroes. Mr. Warfield had declared in favor of such restriction, but he had from the first been insistent that the amendment to win his support must not be vague, and that the constitution as amended should not be negative in asserting who was not to vote, thus leaving the matter to the caprice of individual election judges. But the legislature was not in entire accord with the governor, and it devised an amendment which was at variance with his views. Mr. Warfield was completely ignored not only in the drafting of the bill, but in the business of submitting it to the people for their vote. He, however, promptly and fearlessly pointed out to the voters its danger points, which would hazard the rights of many white voters if the judges in any particular instance were disposed to prevent them from voting. He opposed the amendment and, more than any other man, defeated it at the polls

Mr. Warfield's creed of personal responsibility inspired him in this instance to protect the rights of those who had placed him in office, and this same influence is found in his inauguration of the so-called pardon-courts. During his administration, Governor Warfield took occasion to announce that he was the governor of all the people. He declared that although a party had elected him, it did not follow that he was therefore that party's governor, but that he had been chosen to govern the people without regard to party affiliation. Before he became chief magistrate, executive clemency in Maryland was exercised whenever it was favorably importuned and wherever the governor might chance to be when a request for pardon won his approval. But

Mr. Warfield began the practice of hearing petitioners at a regularly appointed time. This court, through the newspapers, was open to the people, and they were given an opportunity to voice sentiments either for or against a requested pardon. None was so mighty that he could enter by a private passage, and none so humble that he would find the doors closed to him.

To Mr. Warfield, too, more than to any other Marylander is due credit for popularizing primary nominations not only for high state officials, but also for United States senator. In the democratic state convention of 1907, Mr. Warfield advocated primary nominations of candidates for the upper branch of congress; and he appeared as a candidate for United States senator, in the fall election of 1907, despite the certainty of defeat under existing conditions, in order that he might give stability to his plan.

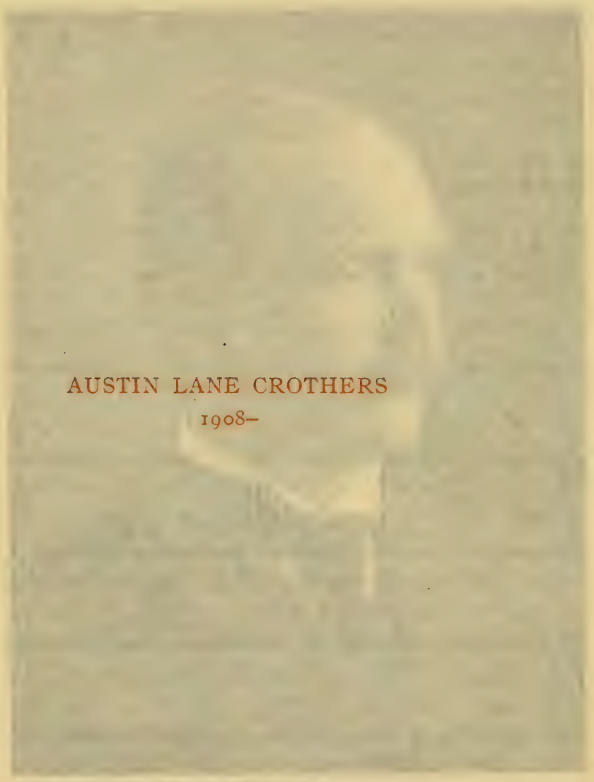
At least passing mention must be made of Governor Warfield's patriotism. No recent official of Maryland has done more for the spirit of patriotism within the commonwealth than he. He has never tired of telling of the great things that Marylanders of bygone days have done; he has lost no opportunity to impress upon men, women and children, the priceless heritage which they gain through being natives of the Old Line state. His object has been to create a pride for the record of the past, upon the belief that such pride must necessarily inspire rising generations to write as noble a record in the future. If there is one appropriate epitaph that might be placed as a memorial to Governor Warfield in the old senate chamber at Annapolis, which through his effort was restored to the state in which it was at the time when Washington there resigned his commission as commander-in-chief of the army, it is: "Edwin Warfield—a governor of Maryland, who sowed a patriotism that taught men, by recalling the glory of their ancestors, themselves to become glorious."

XLVI

AUSTIN LANE CROTHERS

On the whole Maryland has escaped from such dishonest and extravagant administration of public affairs as too often in American political life characterizes the manner in which governmental officials spend the people's money. There have, to be sure, been periods of legislative and administrative prodigality in the state, but these periods have usually been brief, while the reigns of economical administration have, happily, been more or less extended. Maryland has been fortunate indeed in electing to the governorship on more than one occasion men who were preeminently economical as public officials. For instance, such names as Ligon and Hamilton suggest primarily a faithful guardianship of public funds. And the state executive who at present directs the administrative affairs of the commonwealth promises fair to win a place among those public servants whose greatest ambition has been to husband the people's money. Although Mr. Crothers has been in office too short a time to warrant conclusions as to how his entire administration will appear upon the records, he has already made a very decided impression as a man who will render the state a faithful account of his and his subordinates' stewardship of public funds.

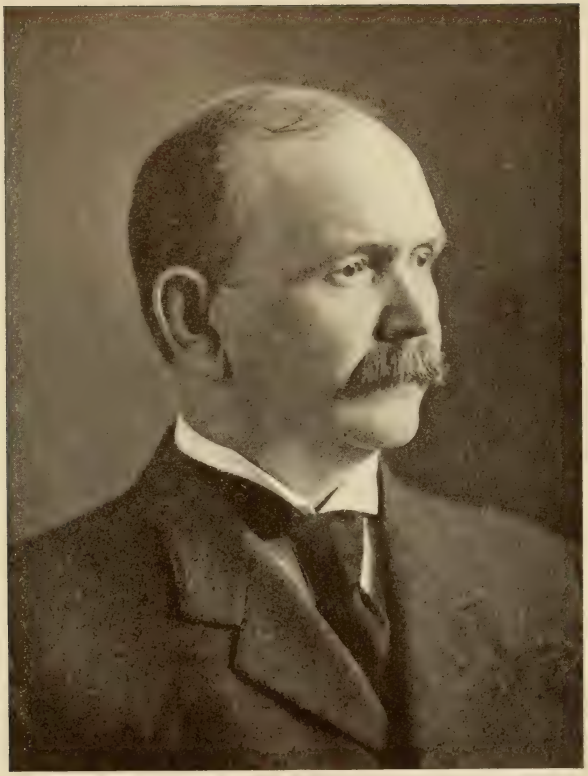
Austin Lane Crothers, the son of Alpheus and Margaret Aurelia (Porter) Crothers, was born near Conowingo, Cecil county, on May 17, 1860. His father was a farmer, and the life of the agriculturist is not unknown to the governor, though he was early attracted to a professional career rather than to life on the farm. He studied at the Cecil county



AUSTIN LANE CROTHERS
1908–

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AUSTIN LANE CROTHERS



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public school, and later attended West Nottingham Academy; but hand in hand with the development of his mind came a growth of the body such as healthy farm labor best produces. When Mr. Crothers had reached manhood, he was about six feet tall and possessed of a fine physique. At the same time he had given sufficient time to his studies to justify his appointment as a teacher in the public schools of Cecil county.

The promises of a pedagogical career were not strong enough to hold Mr. Crothers, and he turned from teaching to a study of law, and was graduated in 1890 from the law department of the University of Maryland. Upon being admitted to the bar, he began to practice law in Elkton, the county-seat of Cecil. At the same time he took a larger interest in the political affairs of his immediate neighborhood, where he had already won a footing as a political factor in democratic circles. Within a year after graduation, he was nominated and elected state's attorney for Cecil county, and served in that office from 1891 to 1895. In 1897 Mr. Crothers was elected to the state senate to succeed his brother, the late Charles C. Crothers. His appearance as a legislative candidate was at the time when the democratic party generally met defeat in Maryland, but Mr. Crothers was successful.

Upon his entrance into the state senate, early in 1898, Mr. Crothers assumed a position of prominence among the democratic members of the upper branch of the general assembly. By the time the next session of the legislature was held, 1900, the democrats had succeeded in gaining control of the two houses, and Mr. Crothers once more became a central figure. His leadership, however, had been changed from that of the minority—in which he had had the aid of John Walter Smith and Joshua W. Hering—to that of a majority—in which he was more or less alone,

since Mr. Smith had retired from the legislature to become governor and Mr. Hering had been chosen comptroller of the state.

In the years during which Mr. Crothers was filling his term in the state senate there arose differences among the factions of the party in his district, and although he succeeded in 1901 and again in 1905 in winning the nomination for state senator, in both elections he met with defeat. He had, however, by this time succeeded in establishing beyond dispute his leadership of the party's forces within his section, and he was the acknowledged democratic leader of Cecil county. Meanwhile he steadily advanced in his chosen profession, and made for himself a large reputation as an attorney. Upon the death of Judge Edwin H. Brown, on March 28, 1906, Governor Warfield appointed Mr. Crothers associate judge of the second circuit for the unexpired term extending to 1908. Shortly after he took his seat upon the bench, Judge Crothers announced that he would not be a candidate for reëlection.

Up to this time Mr. Crothers had not been largely in the limelight. His legislative career, which had been brought to a close in 1901, had been somewhat forgotten by the people, while his subsequent political activities did not spread his name far past his own territory, except perhaps among political leaders. His duties on the bench, or course, were of such a character as not to afford him opportunity to engage much in political affairs. He was, however, brought prominently before the people of Maryland by the democratic state convention which, on August 8, 1907, named him as its nominee for governor.

The campaign which followed was noteworthy for two things. The first, that when Judge Crothers was notified of his nomination at the Lyric, September 19, he had come from a bed of sickness to attend the meeting, and within a

short while thereafter was stricken with typhoid fever, which kept him from active participation in the campaign. The other feature was the personal attacks made by his opponents upon his character and record—attacks which, because disproved, did much to win for him support from those who might otherwise have taken but a negative interest in the campaign. On November 5, 1907, Mr. Crothers was elected by a majority of about 8,000 votes over George R. Gaither, republican; and he succeeded Governor Warfield as chief magistrate of Maryland on January 8, 1908.

In striking contrast to Governor Crothers' forced inactivity during the campaign that resulted in his election, was his unusual industry in winning for the state certain desirable measures during the legislative session which attended the opening of his administration. Bearing in mind his early life and association with agriculturists, it is not surprising that the two things that have become to him practically "hobbies" are features that appeal first of all to the farmer. Economy in administration is the strongest recommendation that can be made for a candidate to the rural voter. To the agriculturist taxes mean much more than they do to the city man, and whoever is able and willing to see that public funds are not squandered by extravagance on the part of governmental officials is sure to win the farmer's support. And next in importance to the voter of the farm is the question of good roads.

Governor Crothers has long been an advocate of liberal investment by the state in beneficial internal improvements. He supported the good road clause in the party's platform in 1907; he stressed it on the occasion of accepting the nomination for governor, and during the session of the legislature in the opening months of 1908 he fought, bravely and successfully, for a bill that would give the state a high class of public highways. As a result there was appropriated $5,000,-

000 for the improvement of public roads in Maryland, and of this expenditure the farmer will be the greatest beneficiary. But while Governor Crothers has favored a bill setting aside $5,000,000 for good roads, he has been constantly alert since taking the oath of office to see that the various departments of the state government practice strictest economy in spending the people's money, and the opening months of his governorship appear as the forerunner of a reform movement that shall correct the negligence in money matters which usually characterizes the management of governmental departments and public institutions.

Mr. Crothers is unmarried. While his official residence during his term in office must be Annapolis, his occupancy of the executive mansion has so far been only nominal. He has established an office in Baltimore, where he transacts much of the state's business, and he also maintains headquarters in Elkton, where he makes his home.

APPENDIX A

GUBERNATORIAL ELECTIONS IN MARYLAND

No.	Date.	Method. [Legislative or popular vote].	Candidates with vote for each. [* Indicates successful candidate].
1.	Feb. 13, 1777	Leg.	*Thos. Johnson, 40—S. Chase, 9—M. Tilghman, 1—Geo. Plater, 1—Wm. Paca, 1.
2.	Nov. 10, 1777	"	*Thos. Johnson—unanimous.
3.	Nov. 9, 1778	"	*Thos. Johnson—opponents not named.
4.	Nov. 8, 1779	"	*T. S. Lee—Col. Edward Lloyd.
5.	Nov. 13, 1780	"	*T. S. Lee—unanimous.
6.	Nov. 19, 1781	"	*T. S. Lee—unanimous.
7.	Nov. 15, 1782	"	*Wm. Paca—Danl. of St. Thos. Jenifer.
8.	Nov. 22, 1783	"	*Wm. Paca—unanimous.
9.	Nov. 24, 1784	"	*Wm. Paca—unanimous.
10.	Nov. 17, 1785	"	*Wm. Smallwood—Danl. of St. Thos. Jenifer.
11.	Nov. 30, 1786	"	*Wm. Smallwood—unanimous.
12.	Nov. 22, 1787	"	*Wm Smallwood—unanimous.
13.	Nov. 10, 1788	"	*Thos. Johnson [declined to serve].—John E. Howard.
14.	Nov. 21, 1788	"	*John E. Howard—opponents not named.
15.	Nov. 16, 1789	"	*John E. Howard—unanimous.
16.	Nov. 8, 1790	"	*John E. Howard—unanimous.
17.	Nov. 14, 1791	"	*Geo. Plater—unanimous [died in office].
18.	Apr. 4, 1792	"	*T. S. Lee—Benj. Ogle—Nicholas Carroll.
19.	Nov. 4, 1792	"	*T. S. Lee—unanimous.
20.	Nov. 15, 1793	"	*T. S. Lee—unanimous.
21.	Nov. 17, 1794	"	*J. H. Stone—Levin Winder.
22.	Nov. 9, 1795	"	*J. H. Stone—unanimous.
23.	Nov. 15, 1796	"	*J. H. Stone—unanimous.
24.	Nov. 13, 1797	"	*John Henry—unanimous.
25.	Nov. 12, 1798	"	*T. S. Lee—unanimous [Declined to serve].
26.	Nov. 14, 1798	"	*Benj. Ogle—Nicholas Carroll.
27.	Nov. 18, 1799	"	*Benj. Ogle—unanimous.
28.	Nov. 10, 1800	"	*Benj. Ogle—unanimous.
29.	Nov. 9, 1801	"	*J. M. Mercer, 59—James Murray, 26.
30.	Nov. 8, 1802	"	*J. M. Mercer, 53—James Murray, 22.
31.	Nov. 14, 1803	"	*Robt. Bowie—unopposed.
32.	Nov. 20, 1804	"	*Robt. Bowie—unopposed.
33.	Nov. 11, 1805	"	*Robt. Bowie—unopposed.
34.	Nov. 10, 1806	"	*R. Wright, 59—Chas. Carroll, 11—John E. Howard, 3—T. Johnson, 1.
35.	Nov. 9, 1807	"	*R. Wright, 56—Chas. Carroll, 7—J. E. Howard 7—Wright, 1.

No.	Date.	Method.	Candidates with vote for each.
36.	Nov. 14, 1808	Leg.	*R. Wright—unopposed [resigned May 6, 1809].
37.	June, 5, 1809	"	*Edward Lloyd—unopposed.
38.	Nov. 13, 1809	"	*Edward Lloyd—unopposed.
39.	Nov. 19, 1810	"	*Edward Lloyd—unopposed.
40.	Nov. 11, 1811	"	*Robt. Bowie—John E. Howard.
41.	Nov. 12, 1812	"	*Levin Winder, 52—Robt. Bowie, 29.
42.	Dec. 14, 1813	"	*Levin Winder, 48—Robt. Bowie, 28.
43.	Dec. 12, 1814	"	*Levin Winder, 48—Robt. Bowie, 23.
44.	Dec. 11, 1815	"	*Chas. Ridgely, 47—Robt. Bowie, 45.
45.	Dec. 9, 1816	"	*Chas. Ridgely, 62—Robt. Bowie. 17.
46.	Dec. 8, 1817	"	*Chas. Ridgely—unopposed.
47.	Dec. 14, 1818	"	*C. Goldsborough, 49—Frisby Tilghman, 44.
48.	Dec. 13, 1819	"	*Saml. Sprigg, 49—Chas. Goldsborough, 36.
49.	Dec. 11, 1820	"	*Saml. Sprigg, 48—Chas. Goldsborough, 46.
50.	Dec. 8, 1821	"	*Saml. Sprigg—unopposed.
51.	Dec. 9, 1822	"	*Saml. Stevens, Jr, 63—Jas. B. Robins, 16.
52.	Dec. 8, 1823	"	*Saml. Stevens, Jr.—unopposed.
53.	Dec. 13, 1824	"	*Saml. Stevens, Jr.—unopposed.
54.	Jan. 2, 1826	"	*J. Kent—Wm. Tyler.
55.	Jan. 1, 1827	"	*J. Kent, 84—opponents not named.
56.	Jan. 7, 1828	"	*J. Kent, 80—Benedict I. Semmes,1—Blanks, 3.
57.	Jan. 5, 1829	"	*D. Martin, 52—Geo. E. Mitchell, 38.
58.	Jan. 4, 1830	"	*T. K. Carroll, 50—D. Martin, 43.
59.	Jan. 3, 1831	"	*D. Martin, 50—blanks 32 [died in office].
60.	Jan. 2, 1832	"	*Geo. Howard, 64—Nich. Brewer, 5—blanks 13.
61.	Jan. 7, 1833	"	*Jas. Thomas, 62—John S. Stoddart, 2, John (?) Thomas, 1—blanks, 21.
62.	Jan. 4, 1834	"	*Jas. Thomas, 48—Ed. Lloyd, 46—W. H. Marriott, 1.
63.	Jan. 5, 1835	"	*Jas. Thomas, 67—Jos. Weast, 1—Joshua Jones, 2—blanks 13.
64.	Jan. 4, 1836	"	*T. W. Veazey, 53—blanks, 23.
65.	Jan. 2, 1837	"	*T. W. Veazey, 70—blanks, 9—scattering, 2.
66.	Jan. 1, 1838	"	*T. W. Veazey, 52—blanks, 24—scattering, 5.
67.	Oct. 3, 1838	Pop.	*Wm.Grason,27,720—John Nevitt Steele,27,409
68.	Oct. 6, 1841	"	*Francis Thomas. 28,986—Wm. Cost Johnson, 28,321.
69.	Oct. 4, 1844	"	*T. G. Pratt, 35,038—Jas. Carroll, 34,492.
70.	Oct. 6, 1847	"	*P. F. Thomas, 34,388—Wm. T. Goldsborough, 33,679.
71.	Oct. 2, 1850	"	*E. L. Lowe, 35,292—Wm. B. Clarke, 33,800.
72.	Nov. 2, 1853	"	*T. W. Ligon, 38,730—Rich. J. Bowie, 34,557.
73.	Nov. 4, 1857	"	*T. H. Hicks, 44,762—John C. Groome, 36,127.
74.	Nov. 6, 1861	"	*A. W. Bradford, 57,501—Benj. C. Howard, 26,070.
75.	Nov. 8, 1864	"	*Thos. Swann, 40,579—Ezekiel F. Chambers, 32,068.
76.	Nov. 5, 1867	"	*Oden Bowie, 63,602—Hugh L. Bond, 21,890.
77.	Nov. 7, 1871	"	*Wm. P. Whyte, 73,903—Jacob Tome, 58,815 [Gov. Whyte resigned in 1874].

No.	Date.	Method.	Candidates with vote for each.
78.	Feb. 4, 1874	Leg.	*J. B. Groome, 75—John E. Smith, 18.
79.	Nov. 2, 1875	Pop.	*J. L. Carroll, 85,454—J. Morrison Harris. 72,530.
80.	Nov. 4, 1879	"	*W. T. Hamilton, 90,771—Jas. A. Gary, 68,609.
81.	Nov. 6, 1883	"	*R. M. McLane, 92,694—Hart B. Holton, 80,707 [Gov. McLane resigned in 1885].
82.	Jan. 20, 1886	Leg.	*Hy. Lloyd, 100—Robt. B. Dixon, 14.
83.	Nov. 8, 1887	Pop.	*E. E. Jackson, 99,038—Walter B. Brooks, 86,622—Summerfield Baldwin, 4,416.
84.	Nov. 3, 1891	"	*Frank Brown, 108,530—Wm. J. Vannort, 78,388—Edwin Higgins, 5,120.
85.	Nov. 5, 1895	"	*Lloyd Lowndes, 124,936—John E. Hurst, 106,169—Joshua Levering, 7,719—H. Franklin Andrew, 1,281.
86.	Nov. 7, 1899	"	*J. W. Smith, 128,409—L. Lowndes, 116,286—Jas. Swann, 5,275—John A. Rugemer, 420—Levin T. Jones, 432—Wm. N. Hill, 367.
87	Nov. 3, 1903	"	*Edwin Warfield, 108,548—S. A. Williams, 95,923—Wm. Gisriel 2,913—Silas M. Crabill 1,302.
88.	Nov. 5, 1907	"	*A. L. Crothers, 102,051—G. R. Gaither, 94,-300 Jas. W. Frizzell, 3,776—Ira Culp, 1,310

APPENDIX B.

ADMINISTRATIONS IN MARYLAND 1777-1908.

No.	Governor or acting governor.	Duration of Administration.
1	Thomas Johnson	1777 (March 21) to 1779 (November 12)
2	Thomas Sim Lee (1)	1782 (November 22)
3	William Paca	1785 (November 26)
4	William Smallwood	1788 (November 24)
5	John Eager Howard	1791 (November 14)
6	George Plater	1792 (February 13)
6a	James Brice	1792 (April 5)
	[Acting-governor pending the election of a successor to Governor Plater.]	
7	Thomas Sim Lee (2)	1792 (April 5) to 1794 (November 14)
8	John Hoskins Stone	1797 (November 17)
9	John Henry	1798 (November 14)
10	Benjamin Ogle	1801 (November 10)
11	John Francis Mercer	1803 (November 15)
12	Robert Bowie (1)	1806 (November 12)
13	Robert Wright	1809 (May 6)
13a	James Butcher	1809 (June 9)
	[Acting-governor pending the election of a successor to Governor Wright.]	
14	Edward Lloyd	1809 (June 9) to 1811 (November 16)
15	Robert Bowie (2)	1812 (November 25)
16	Levin Winder	1816 (January 2)
17	Charles Carnan Ridgely	1819 (January 8)
18	Charles Goldsborough	1819 (December 20)
19	Samuel Sprigg	1822 (December 16)
20	Samuel Stevens, Jr	1826 (January 9)
21	Joseph Kent	1829 (January 15)
22	Daniel Martin (1)	1830 (January 15)
23	Thomas King Carroll	1831 (January 13)
24	Daniel Martin (2)	1831 (July 22)
25	George Howard	1833 (January 17)
26	James Thomas	1836 (January 14)
27	Thos. Ward Veazey	1839 (January 7)
28	William Grason	1842 (January 3)
29	Francis Thomas	1845 (January 6)
30	Thomas George Pratt	1848 (January 3)
31	Philip Francis Thomas	1851 (January 6)
32	Enoch Louis Lowe	1854 (January 11)
33	Thomas Watkins Ligon	1858 (January 13)
34	Thomas Holliday Hicks	1862 (January 8)

No.	Governor or acting governor.	Duration of Administration.
35	Augustus W. Bradford	1862 (January 8)
36	Thomas Swann	1866 (January 10)
37	Oden Bowie	1869 (January 13)
38	Wm. Pinkney Whyte	1872 (January 10)
39	Jas. Black Groome	1874 (March 4)
40	John Lee Carroll	1876 (January 12)
41	Wm. Thos. Hamilton	1880 (January 14)
42	Robert Milligan McLane	1884 (January 9)
43	Henry Lloyd	1885 (March 27)
	[Acting-governor from March 27, 1885, to January 21, 1886, when he was inaugurated governor after having been elected successor to Governor McLane.]	1888 (January 11)
44	Elihu Emory Jackson	1888 (January 11)
45	Frank Brown	1892 (January 13)
46	Lloyd Lowndes	1896 (January 8)
47	John Walter Smith	1900 (January 10)
48	Edwin Warfield	1904 (January 13)
49	Austin Lane Crothers	1908 (January 8)

No.	Name	Born	Parer
1	Thomas Johnson	Nov. 4, 1732	Thos. and Dorcas (Sedgew
2	Thomas Sim Lee	Oct. 29, 1745	Thos. and Christiana (Sim
3	William Paca	Oct. 31, 1740	John and Elizabeth P.
4	William Smallwood	1732	Bayne and Priscilla (Hebe
5	John Eager Howard	June 4, 1752	Cornelius and Ruth (Eage
6	George Plater	Nov. 8, 1735	Geo. and Rebecca (Addis
7	John Hoskins Stone	1745	David and Elizabeth (Jer
8	John Henry	1750	John and Dorothy (Rider
9	Benjamin Ogle	Feb. 7, 1746	Samuel and Ann (Tasker)
10	John Francis Mercer	May 17, 1759	Robert and Ann (Roy) M
11	Robert Bowie	Mar. 1750	Wm. and Margaret (Sprig
12	Robert Wright	Nov. 20, 1752	Solomon and Mary (Tidm
13	Edward Lloyd	July 22, 1779	Edward and Elizabeth (
14	Levin Winder	Sept. 4, 1757	Wm. and Esther (Gillis)
15	Charles Carnan Ridgely	Dec. 6, 1760	John and Acsah (Ridgely
16	Charles Goldsborough	July 15, 1760	Chas. and Anna Maria (
17	Samuel Sprigg	1782 or 1783	Jos. and (?) Margaret El
18	Samuel Stevens, Jr.	July 13, 1778	John and Elizabeth (Conr
19	Joseph Kent	Jan. 14, 1779	Daniel and ——K.
20	Daniel Martin	1780	Nicholas and Hannah (O
21	Thomas King Carroll	Apr. 29, 1793	Hy. Jas. and Elizabeth B
22	George Howard	Nov. 21, 1789	John Eager and Margaret
23	James Thomas	Mar. 11, 1785	Wm. and Catherine (Boa
24	Thomas Ward Veazey	Jan. 31, 1774	Edward and Elizabeth (
25	William Grason	1786	Rich. and ——G.
26	Francis Thomas	Feb. 3, 1799	Francis and Nellie (Magill
27	Thomas George Pratt	Feb. 18, 1804	Thos. and Eleanor (Magru
28	Philip Francis Thomas	Sept. 12, 1810	Tristram and Maria (Frar
29	Enoch Louis Lowe	Aug. 10, 1820	Bradley S. A. and Adelaid
30	Thomas Watkins Ligon	1812	Thos. D. and (Watkins)
31	Thomas Holliday Hicks	Sept. 2, 1798	Hy. C. and Mary (Sewell
32	Augustus Williamson Bradford	Jan. 9, 1806	Samuel and Jane (Bond)
33	Thomas Swann	1805 or 1806	Thos. and Jane Byrd (P
34	Oden Bowie	Nov. 10, 1826	Wm. D. and Mary Eliza
35	William Pinkney Whyte	Aug. 9, 1824	Jos. and Isabella Pinkney
36	James Black Groome	Apr. 4, 1838	John Charles and Elizab
37	John Lee Carroll	Sept. 30, 1830	Chas. and Mary Digges
38	William Thomas Hamilton	Sept. 8, 1820	Henry and Anna Mary M
39	Robert Milligan McLane	June 23, 1815	Louis and Catherine M.
40	Henry Lloyd	Feby. 21, 1852	Daniel and Kitty (Henry
41	Elihu Emory Jackson	Nov. 3, 1837	Hugh and Sally (McBride
42	Frank Brown	Aug. 8, 1846	Stephen T. Cockey and S
43	Lloyd Lowndes	Feby. 21, 1845	Lloyd and Marie (Moore)
44	John Walter Smith	Feby. 5, 1845	John Walter and Charlot
45	Edwin Warfield	May 7, 1848	Albert G. and Margaret
46	Austin Lane Crothers	May, 17, 1860	Alpheus and Margaret A

	Marriage	Died	No.
	Ann Jennings	Oct. 26, 1819	1
	Mary Digges	Nov. 9, 1819	2
	(1) Mary Lloyd, (2) Anne Harrison	1799	3
	Bachelor	Feb. 14, 1792	4
	Margaret Chew	Oct. 12, 1827	5
	(1) Hannah Lee, (2) Elizabeth Rousby	Feb. 10, 1792	6
	(?) Couden	Oct. 5, 1804	7
	Margaret Campbell	Dec. 16, 1798	8
	(1) Rebecca Stilley, (2) Henrietta Margaret Hill	July 6, 1809	9
	Sophia Sprigg	Aug. 20, 1821	10
	Priscilla Mackall	Jan. 8, 1818	11
	(1) Sarah de Courcy, (2) Miss Ringgold	Sept. 7, 1826	12
L.	Sally Scott Murray	June 2, 1834	13
	Mary Sloss	July 1, 1819	14
n	Priscilla Dorsey	July 17, 1829	15
) G.	(1) Elizabeth Goldsborough, (2) Sarah Yerbury Goldsborough	Dec. 13, 1834	16
ems) S.	Violette Landsale	Apr. 21, 1855	17
	Eliza May	Feb. 7, 1860	18
	(1) Eleanor Lee Wallace, (2) Alice Lee Contee	Nov. 24, 1839	19
M.	Mary Clare Maccubin	Jan. 11, 1831	20
) C.	Julianna Stevenson	Oct. 3, 1873	21
H.	Prudence Gough Ridgely	Aug. 2, 1846	22
	Elizabeth Coates	Dec. 25, 1845	23
ey) V.	(1) Sarah Worrell, (2) Mary Veazey, (3) Mary Wallace	July 1, 1842	24
	Susan Orrick Sulivane	July 2, 1868	25
	Sally McDowell	Jan. 23, 1876	26
	Adelaide Kent	Nov. 9, 1869	27
	(1) Sarah Maria Kerr, (2) Mrs. Clintonia May	Oct. 2, 1890	28
endière) L.	Esther Winder Polk	Aug. 23, 1892	29
	(1) Sallie Dorsey, (2) Mary Tolly Dorsey	Jan. 12, 1881	30
	(1) Anna Thompson, (2) Leah Raleigh, (3) Mrs. Mary Wilcox	Feb. 13, 1865	31
	Elizabeth Kell	Mar. 1, 1881	32
	(1) Elizabeth Gilmor Sherlock, (2) Mrs. John R. Thompson	July 24, 1883	33
3.	Alice Carter	Dec. 4, 1894	34
	(1) Louisa D. Hollingsworth, (2) Mrs. Raleigh Thomas	Mar. 17, 1908	35
ck) G.	Alice L. Edmondson	Oct. 4, 1893	36
	(1) Anita Phelps, (2) Mary Carter Thompson		37
) H.	Clara Jenness	Oct. 26, 1888	38
) McL.	Georgine Urquhart	Apr. 16, 1898	39
	Mary Elizabeth Stapleforte		40
	Nannie Rider	Dec. 27, 1907	41
(Bennett) B.	Mrs. Mary (Ridgely) Preston		42
	Elizabeth Tasker Lowndes	Jan. 8, 1905	43
tington) S.	Mary Frances Richardson		44
tkins) W.	Emma Nicodemus		45
orter) C.	Bachelor		46

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